

RALPH BUULTJENS

The Secret of Karl Marx

History,
Psychology and
Marxism

PREFACE by
INDIRA GANDHI

FOREWORD by
WASSILY LEONTIEF

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Psychology and
Marxism

RALPH BUULTJENS

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For
DIANA WELIHINDA
Sister and Friend

ALSO BY RALPH BUULTJENS

Rebuilding The Temple: Tradition and Change in Modern Asia
The Decline of Democracy
China After Mao—Death of a Revolution?
The World of Henry Kissinger—Philosophy and
Reality in *Years of Upheaval*

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PREFACE

by INDIRA GANDHI

I WAS INTRODUCED to Karl Marx by my father at the age of fifteen. Writing to me from the District Prison in Dehra Dun in 1932, Jawaharlal Nehru said:

In the middle of the nineteenth century there arose a man who was destined to become the prophet of that form of socialism which is known as communism . . . *Das Kapital* is not an easy book to read . . . yet it is of the select company of those books which have affected the way of thinking of large numbers of people and thus influenced human development.

Later on, I came to realize the significant impact that Marx's thought has had on the twentieth century. Whether one accepts his ideas or not, and many of them are not suited for modern society, his name will endure.

Marx's ideas have become so controversial and powerful that they have tended to obscure the personality of the man himself. However, knowledge of the character of Marx is most important for understanding his concepts. Much of his thought was influenced by the way in which he saw and experienced life.

Ralph Buultjens examines the relationship between Marx's personality, experiences and ideas with his usual diligent research. He presents an innovative interpretation that will provoke much discussion. In combining scholarship with new approaches to historical investigation, Professor Buultjens develops interesting insights which readers of his work will appreciate.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" on the left and the last name "Gandhi" on the right, connected by a vertical line.

New Delhi
September 1984

FOREWORD

by WASSILY LEONTIEF

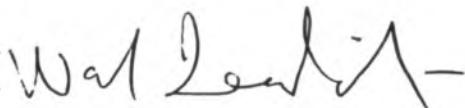
GREAT STATESMEN and great generals change the course of history by their actions. Great thinkers change the course of history, too. However, ideas spread slowly and often reach their full impact many years after they were born. This is particularly true of Karl Marx's ideas. A hundred years after his death, thousands, nay, millions of men and women still feel inspired and many thousands feel threatened by them.

Ralph Buultjens, a scholar who in his other writings has explored the realm of political ideas, turns into an intellectual detective in this book as he delves into the best kept secret of Karl Marx's private life—the story of his illegitimate son Freddy. He has amassed all public material and researched important unpublished information which sheds new light on the intricate personal relationship between Marx, his wife Jenny, and their devoted housekeeper (and Freddy's mother) Helen Demuth. Much is also revealed about Friedrich Engels, close collaborator, friend and benefactor of Marx and his family. Professor Buultjens carefully retraces Marx's moods

and moves from his political exile to his final days in London. He has even sought out Freddy's descendants and interviewed them.

The question of the relationship between the ideas of a great thinker and his personal experiences in private life is addressed by Professor Buultjens in a most dramatic way. The psychoanalytic approach that seems to dominate modern biographic writing stresses the close connection between the two. On the other hand, intellectual historians, particularly historians of science, emphasize the development of ideas through an autonomous, imminent logic of their own—Independent of the fate of their creator. Personal satisfactions and disappointments can favor, obstruct and even arrest the growth of a great idea, as Professor Buultjens argues happened in the case of Karl Marx, but they cannot affect the direction of its advance.

Ralph Buultjens' penetrating observations on this subject are bound to kindle a stimulating debate on both the technique and the substance of his extensive research.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Wassily Leontief".

New York
November 1984

WASSILY LEONTIEF, winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics, is director of the Institute for Economic Analysis at New York University.

BEGINNINGS AND REFLECTIONS

THIS BOOK HAS both distinguished and amusing origins. Some twenty years ago, I was the guest of the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), Sir John Kotelawala, at his country home in England. Sir John, a dear friend and most enjoyable companion, was also a princely host. He entertained a wide circle of prominent men and women from all walks of life.

On this particular day, a small group of guests gathered for lunch. Among them was the eminent Marxist intellectual Isaac Deutscher. Given the political views of our host, Deutscher was an unlikely invitee. But, then, Sir John never did allow his conservative political leanings to constrict his generous fellowship. As many who remember him will recall, his outstanding qualities were more those of heart—of bravery, of warmth, of friendship—than those of mind.

The conversation warmed to lavish hospitality. Pleasant exchanges escalated to stimulating discussions. Inevitably, with Deutscher present, the talk turned to Marxism. Deutscher, the great biographer of Trotsky and Stalin and author of many other profound works on communism, spoke with eloquence of Karl Marx. His presence was a turning point in history; from him came ideas which changed the world. It was an elegant little discourse in an elevated intellectual tradition. Some of us murmured mildly approving sentiments.

Suddenly, with a kind of genial abruptness, our host interrupted. Did Deutscher consider Marx a really great man?

Unquestionably, replied Deutscher; Marx had a quality of greatness that sprang from the mind, from thought rather than action. How could this be so, challenged Sir John. Marx was an unpleasant character, a man of low behavior. He was the father of an illegitimate child who he had badly mistreated. Deutscher asserted that this was not relevant to Marx's greatness. His ideas, his works, assured Marx's historical place. Sir John did not find this very satisfactory. Were not Marx's ideas formed by his character? Deutscher allowed that this was to some extent correct. Well, said Sir John, Marx spent most of his life hiding the presence of his illegitimate son. If his life was a lie, how could his work be true? If Marx was dishonest in private life, how could he be honest in the life of the mind?

The exchange began to take on a tinge of nastiness. Deutscher's irritation was rising. Rather sharply, he brushed off these questions, calling them inconsequential and gossip. Anyone who had read and understood Marx would easily see the luminous quality of his ideas, which assured his historical stature. Sir John, perhaps jarred by this acerbic and slightly patronizing tone, expressed annoyance at Deutscher's answer. Marx, he aggressively stated, had been writing about exploitation of the poor. He knew it well—he had seduced the family maid and fathered a bastard son. This was terrible exploitation of an employee and an innocent woman; it was a disgrace to his wife and children. Marx was a bounder, a cad who could not be invited into a decent home. No maid-servant would be safe!

Deutscher could not quite reply. His thoughtful perceptions had been demolished with what he obviously considered a crude verbal broadside. Sir John, also somewhat disturbed, was confident of his facts and forcefully repeated them. He was rather unhappy that an evidently intelligent thinker could not see the gravamen of his argument. A remark that this, whatever "this" was, was the problem with all Marxists did not help. The other guests, somewhat intrigued by events in Marx's life of which they had never heard, made vaguely diversionary attempts to introduce new subjects. An uneasy silence descended on the gathering. A promising event ended

on a distinctly unpleasant note.

Another invitee, the eminent Sri Lankan diplomat Esmond Wickremesinghe, who left the luncheon with Deutscher, later told me that Deutscher kept muttering angry comments about his host for several hours thereafter. Sir John, too, had few good things to say. I remember hearing about clever fools for quite a while. The two never met again and both are long since dead. The uncomfortable incident faded into the recesses of my memory, occasionally recalled to serve as an anecdote illustrating how the man of action and the man of thought can rarely find common understanding.

Many years later, my distinguished colleague Saul Padover, perhaps the foremost political historian of our time, was preparing his monumental biography of Karl Marx. Twelve years of excruciating research went into this effort. Padover personally translated hundreds of documents and made several journeys to European places connected with Marx. During these years, Saul and I frequently lunched together and often discussed his book. On one occasion, I told him the story of Sir John and Deutscher and the historical gossip which caused their disagreement.

“Its not gossip, its true” said Padover. So, I said, would he give it importance in his biography? “I don’t know. Its a very significant fact, but I am not quite sure how to treat it. I’ll have to mention it, but I’m not quite happy writing about these things. A man’s loins belong to himself.” And then, as kind of an afterthought, he said, “You write about it. I’ll give you my research.” Thereafter, until his death in February 1981, Padover was good at his word. Occasionally, I would go over to his office at the New School for Social Research or to his home and look at the treasure house of his research notes and archives. Sometimes, he would bring or send me an item of interest. Slowly, I came to know more of Karl Marx, and of Helen and Frederick Demuth—and the secret Marx guarded so well during his lifetime.

In time, I began to realize that very few people, even professionals and those knowledgeable about Marx and Marxism, knew about the Demuth affair. Many scholars were surprised

to hear about Marx's illegitimate son, others found it easier to deny the episode or treat it as a trivial incident. A typical comment was made by Terrell Carver, a lecturer in politics at the University of Bristol, in an otherwise well researched and effective work. (Terrell Carver, *Engels*; Hill and Wang, New York, 1981; pp. 72-73. This book is one of the Past Masters series edited by Keith Thomas, Fellow of St. John's College and Reader in Modern History at the University of Oxford.)

The story is current that on his deathbed in 1895 Engels revealed that Marx was the father of Frederick Demuth, the son of Marx's housekeeper. The sole evidence for this deathbed revelation is what seems to be a copy (whose provenance is unknown) of a letter from Engels' former housekeeper Louise Freyberger written in 1898. While some commentators see no reason to doubt the authenticity and accuracy of this document and the truth of what Engels is supposed to have said, others have suggested that there are internal inconsistencies in the supposed letter that throw doubt on its being a genuine copy. However, even if we did accept the copy as genuine and the account of Engels' remarks as accurate, there are still grounds for scepticism, since what Engels was claiming is otherwise uncorroborated. Research into the life of Frederick Demuth and of his relations has yielded nothing concerning the identity of his father; letters in the Marx-Engels collection from the period of Frederick Demuth's birth and subsequent life do not establish anything definite about the situation, and nothing else about him is known that would link him to Marx, though unsubstantiated claims have been made.

The tone and content of this excerpt reflects the attitude of many Marx scholars—and much of it is incorrect or indicates inadequate research.

At times, it became evident that there was a kind of conspiracy to suppress any information about Freddy Demuth. Several of those familiar with Marx's life, particularly socialist leaders and scholars, have had some knowledge of his illegitimate son. Yet, little if anything has been said about it. Apparently illegitimate paternity offends conventional moral standards and does not conform to the heroic mold in which the father of Marxism is presented to the masses. So, much

evidence of this event has been expunged. In fact, the official Soviet biography of Marx, prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow (*Karl Marx. A Biography*. Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1973), makes only slight passing references to Helen Demuth and none at all to her son Freddy. It is clear that to the Marxist world Freddy Demuth never existed and the Demuth affair is an unmentionable topic.

This lack of information and research finally convinced me that there was a need for a study of the Marx-Demuth connection. To get a full appreciation of Marx as a man we need to know more about a situation which he took such pains to conceal. This book is principally about a corner of Marx's life which has remained largely unexplored—the liaison between a major historical figure and his live-in maid, the illegitimate son who was the unintended consequence of this affair, and the impact of all this on his work and ideas. It is also an attempt to explain the psychology of the acceptance of Marx's ideas. As far as I am aware, this is the first book among all the many thousands of works on Marx which looks in detail at this hidden part of his personal history.

* * *

Factual data, however, presents only one part of the picture. It is an obligation of scholarship to go beyond fact into interpretation, and sometimes into imagination. This obligation I have tried to fulfill and as a result, have had to deal with an expanded series of questions.

One of these concerns the relationship between Marx and the Marxist movement. In a way, it is the popularity, stature and impact of the Marxist movement which gives Marx himself his place in history. Without the Marxist movement there would be no historical Marx. At the root of this interconnection is, of course, the appeal which draws people to Marxism and which then generates so much interest in Marx. Thus, before looking at how Marx's inner feelings affected his own actions and his work, it becomes necessary to explore the bedrock of his historical standing—the psychological dynamics

and other appeals of Marxism.

And so, the general outline of this book began to evolve. The first part contains two discussions. Because I intended to apply elements of psychology to history and politics, and the fields of psychohistory and psychopolitics are relatively new, I felt that it was useful to begin with an explanation of this approach supported with some historical vignettes. Attempting to explain Marxism from this perspective obviously follows next, since, as we have discussed, the appeal of Marxism is largely responsible for Marx's own historical importance. Thereafter, in the second part of the book, I have focused on major themes of Karl Marx's life and work. This then leads to the details of the Demuth affair and a commentary on its significance in the life of Marx and his family.

Orderly intellectual progression suggests that one should next reflect on the impact of the Demuth affair on Marx's work. However, human factors interpose themselves between the affair itself and its influence on Marx's thinking. Freddy Demuth and the others involved may be less important figures and minor footnotes in history. Yet, they are significant participants in this drama and their lives were profoundly affected by it. Our concern with larger happenings and major themes should not ignore little human histories. At this point, I digress to include them. Then, as a conclusion, I have attempted to link the inner tensions of Marx to his work and ideas—at best, somewhat tentative connections, but an important issue which gives meaning to the Demuth affair.

In sum, I have tried to provide some professional research about relatively unknown events for the scholar and also some interesting factual information for the general reader. Both will draw their own assumptions and perhaps use some of my data to build their own interpretations. If that happens, whether or not they endorse my efforts to establish a connection between Marx's psyche and his philosophy, the need for this book is established beyond my satisfaction.

To assemble this data has been a long and trying task. The Padover records were, of course, initially most helpful as were a number of secondary sources listed in the bibliography.

However, considerable personal field research was necessary. The research trail was often a detective exercise—running across Europe from Trier to Paris, to London, to Amsterdam and elsewhere. These and other places are associated with Marx and his life and work. Various documents are lodged in different archives at these locations. Obtaining access was a tiring and tedious activity, but an infinitely interesting one.

* * *

Reflecting on all this effort and analysis, three thoughts come to mind. The desperation of Marx has been little realized. That he was able to continue his activities, research and writing under the terrible circumstances of his life, particularly in his middle years, is extraordinary. To his fearsome and evident burdens—finances, health, family problems, lack of professional recognition—was added his secret burden. The pressures must have been enormous. It is testimony to his resilience that Marx was able to survive and maintain a cheerful disposition with those around him.

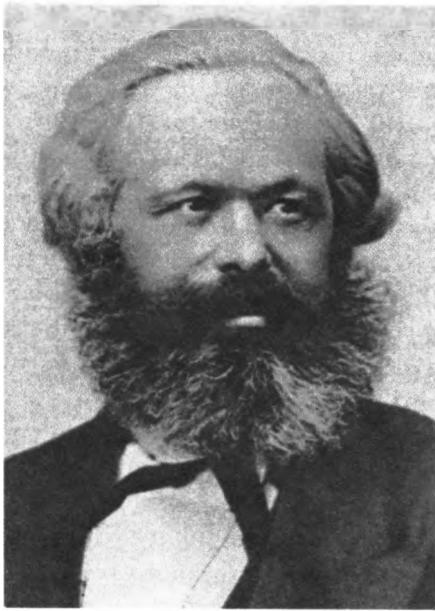
A second thought. Technology and time has now made the task of the scholar much more difficult. Until around World War II, people frequently wrote long letters to their friends and kept diaries of their doings and feelings. These are the raw materials of the historian. The advent of the telephone as an instrument of mass communication has almost eliminated the old style of correspondence. The pressure of time has reduced diaries to appointment books. If Marx and Engels had lived today, they would probably have telephoned each other. Their rich and varied personal exchanges, more than 1600 letters over fifty years, would have been lost to history. If their contemporaries had been ours, we would have lost many of the impressions of Marx and much of the information about him which was recorded in the diaries of those who knew him. The craft of historical research has become less rewarding today.

We can only hope that the range of communicating and recording equipment now available to everyone—tape and video recorders, sound cameras and other instruments—will

preserve impressions of the present for the future. Whether they will evoke the intimacy of correspondence and diaries of the past is as yet uncertain. It seems to me an unlikely happening, but one that we must hope will develop.

Another thought about technology and history. If contraceptive technology had been as advanced and available in Marx's day as it is now, the whole Demuth affair would probably have been unknown and unproductive. It is sad, yet amusing, that Marx created so many problems for himself and interesting situations for us to examine because birth control devices were relatively unavailable in those days!

A last word. It is not a pleasant task to unearth and publicize the intimacies which individuals seek to conceal from public view. The only justification I plead is the historical stature of Marx. His importance and impact make it necessary for us to understand what forces influenced him. For the great men of history there is no posthumous privacy.



Karl Marx in 1867



Freddy Demuth c. 1920

Part I

HISTORY, PSYCHOLOGY AND MARXISM

HISTORY RECORDS, PSYCHOLOGY EXPLAINS

IN 1848, MARX AND ENGELS opened *The Communist Manifesto* with a dramatic declaration: “A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism.” In articulating this cry against privilege and position, the founding fathers of modern Marxism believed that they were launching a major historical enterprise, a way to make a new world. While doing this, Marx and Engels also unknowingly launched another major enterprise—the study of Marxism.

History and politics, the examination of what people have done and what they are doing, has now come to attract a large constituency of craftsmen and consumers. In the past century, the venture of Marxism has engaged this constituency as few other areas of human endeavor have done; examining Marxism has become a significant industry in itself. This intense scrutiny of Marx and Marxism—the relationship between the man, the ideas and the movement—has generally used conventional methods of analysis and produced predictable results. However, as new techniques of analysis and new approaches to evaluating history are developed, and new information becomes available, many traditional conclusions need to be revised. Different interpretations then begin to emerge.

One of these newer ways of looking at history and politics is to apply the insights of psychology to historical and political happenings. Focused on new or newly organized information on Marx and Marxism, this approach can produce innovative reappraisals of both the personality of the man and the appeal

of his ideas.

The psychological technique seeks to examine historical and political events through the emotions and inner pulsations of people who determine them. History studies the collective human past, psychology examines the individual's past—and psychohistory seeks to build a bridge between these two investigations. Findings which emerge from this process are often shadowy and risk the admonition that speculation is being substituted for fact, conjecture advanced from limited data. How much credibility can be given to analysis based on insights obtained from secondary sources and from reconstructing feelings of which the participants themselves may not even be aware? Richard Nixon, often the subject and sometimes the victim of this type of analysis, expresses the instinctive reaction of many people to this approach: "I happen to think that most of the so-called new 'science' of psycho-biography is pure baloney . . . so outlandish as to be downright silly."¹

Yet, it is now widely accepted that there is a link between the inner feelings and outer behavior of each individual. The extent to which these hidden impulses, conscious or unconscious, can be detected or used to explain the activities of people is unclear. It probably varies from person to person; there is no universal norm. However, the basic proposition—the concept of the link—is well established. The historian Fawn Brodie, author of several celebrated psychohistorical works, explains the premise of this argument: "The idea that a man's inner life affects every aspect of his intellectual life and also his decision-making should need no defense today. To illuminate this relationship, however, requires certain biographical techniques that make some historians uncomfortable. One must look for feeling as well as fact, for nuance and metaphor as well as idea and action."²

In the average individual, the connection between the private person and his or her external actions is not of much historical significance. In the public man or woman, this connection takes on a very different importance. Men and women in public life have an actual or potential impact on society and

sometimes on history. Their psychological pulsations flow into public policy affecting large numbers. In a way, their psyche belongs to all of us. We thus have good cause, maybe good excuse, to examine the motive forces which energize public figures—not so much to make judgments or definitive conclusions, but to give us alternate views of these individuals, expand our understanding of them, and perceive different reasons for the appeal of their ideas.

Using this approach, we will attempt to examine the appeal of Marxism and to provide information on a very little known, yet important segment of Marx's life. But, before doing this, it will perhaps be instructive to make a few historical digressions by looking at some other situations where the public activities of the prominent and the powerful have been affected by inner traumas. In this way, we can see a nexus developing between psyche and policy, and speculate on these connections. Maybe, we can apply some of these lessons to our later focus on Marxism and Marx.

HISTORICAL HAPPENINGS

Our first historical example is Thomas Jefferson, the great libertarian and philosopher of human freedom. Jefferson had a Negro slave mistress by whom he fathered several children—a fact not widely known until a few years ago.³ This clandestine and very affectionate relationship with his quadroon slave Sally Hemmings lasted some thirty-eight years, from the time he was American ambassador to France in the late 1780s until his death in 1826. That Jefferson sustained this association for so long, despite occasional innuendo and rumors circulated by political opponents, is testimony to the private happiness which it must have brought him.

To engage in this love affair while propounding doctrines against human exploitation in puritanical early America must have placed great psychological pressures on Jefferson. The fear of exposure, resulting in the ruin of his distinguished career, would have been a constant companion to his love,

creating tormenting tensions within him. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which these tensions affected his public life, but they surely must have played some part in it. Could they have deepened his appreciation of the conditions of slavery and contributed to his passionate and proclaimed belief in liberty? Or did these pressures produce Jefferson's ambivalent attitude to slavery and condition his negative view of women's liberation?⁴ Perhaps they contributed to both. In any event, a personality of Jefferson's sensitivity could hardly have escaped the haunting influence of the contradictions concealed in this continuing and central fact of his private world.

Elements of an opposite tension, the consequences of the self-imposed challenge of celibacy, are found in the life of the father of modern India. For long periods in his later years, Mahatma Gandhi tested his own moral integrity by sleeping naked at night with young and often naked girls on either side of him.⁵ These brahmacharya (celibacy) experiments evoked considerable controversy. Gandhi defended them by saying: "I have called my present venture a yajna—a sacrifice, a penance. . . How can there be that self-purification when in my mind I entertain a thing which I dare not put openly into practice? . . . My meaning of brahmacharya is this: One who, by constant attendance upon God, has become capable of lying naked with naked women, however beautiful they may be, without being in any manner whatsoever sexually excited."⁶ To a critic, he wrote: "I do hope you will acquit me of having any lustful designs upon women or girls who have been naked with me."⁷

It was perhaps the sublimation created by these experiments that accounted for part of Gandhi's tremendous public energy and his enduring concern with national sexual morality. The persistent need to prove his commitments and to condition society to face physical and moral challenges was a feature of Gandhi's public policies. These were, in a way, an extension of the demands which he made on himself personally. The Mahatma's disciplined self-control and desire for virtue was projected onto a vast historical stage as he mobilized the moral weapons of non-violence and restraint in the

struggle for Indian independence.

A few more historical digressions reinforce our thesis regarding the relationship between the inner and public lives of prominent men and women. Of particular interest is the case of Winston Churchill. We now know more of several relatively obscure facts about his parents. Lord Randolph Churchill died from venereal disease when his son was only twenty years old. This terrible illness ruined his promising political career. In addition, the contempt with which he regarded his eldest son has been revealed in some of his correspondence to both his own mother and to Winston. Lord Randolph refers to Winston's "total worthlessness as a scholar or conscientious worker,"⁸ and often told his son that he would become a social wastrel who would degenerate into a shabby, unhappy and futile existence.⁹ At times, the syphilitic Lord Randolph barely deigned to speak to Winston.¹⁰ "If ever I began to show the slightest idea of comradeship, he was immediately offended," wrote Churchill some years later.¹¹

This conditioning environment of his youth helps to explain the psychological roots of Winston Churchill's political ambitions. He invented his own mythologized version of his father and wrote a heavily white-washed biography of Lord Randolph. To redeem his father's name and disprove his father's lack of confidence became an urgent task that sustained at least part of his tenacity in early public life and shaped the political policies of his early career. In death, Lord Randolph had become an artificial paradigm against whom the young Winston measured his performance. Years later, even when he had achieved great success, Churchill would occasionally grow sentimental and say of his father: "Why could *he* not see what I have done?"¹²

While his relationship with his father defined much of his political ambition and career, Churchill's relationship with society appears to have been largely shaped by his mother's social interactions. Jennie Jerome of New York was regarded as an outsider by her aristocratic Marlborough in-laws and the patrician British establishment into which Randolph Churchill introduced her. Her extra and post marital escapades (Church-

ill's younger brother John was probably not fathered by Lord Randolph¹³) further reduced her social esteem. Her flagrant financial and romantic extravagances did not endear her to Victorian society—a society less concerned with the degree of her virtue than with her persistent violation of the conventional norms of discretion. Churchill apparently resented the social disapproval visited on his mother: "She shone for me like the Evening Star. I loved her dearly—but at a distance."¹⁴

Churchill's lifelong quest for regard by the socially prominent, the wealthy and the powerful, and his desire to associate with them, was a noticeably constant feature of his behavior. It could well have been an attempt to compensate for the disdain which these social groups once had for his mother. It is also more than likely that Churchill's need to secure this esteem and the impact of these associations influenced his ways of thinking and many of his political policies.

The unusually inconsistent behavior of Churchill's successor as Prime Minister of Britain, Anthony Eden, often disturbs contemporary historians. The irrationality of his actions during the Suez Crisis in 1956 created a lasting obstacle to smooth relationships between Western nations and the Third World. How and why did this suave, balanced and restrained diplomat suddenly become a determined aggressor, a role so much out of character and so out of line with his political past? Some explanation of this mystery could be located in the personality of Eden—a sensitive personality tempered in youth by the persistent violence and open abuse of his father and the remoteness of his mother.¹⁵ In his old age, the normally reticent Eden wrote: "I liked to be alone with my father. He would then usually treat me as an equal, rather than embarrass me as a witness or a butt."¹⁶

The later product of this rough treatment in his youth was the Anthony Eden so well known to the world. This Eden was the perfect diplomat, possessed of a conciliatory manner calculated to soothe those around him and to avoid confrontation; always anxious to be perceived in a most favorable way by others. Yet, behind this composed exterior must surely

have been a sense of insecurity, a permanent fear that the orderly world outside would collapse or turn against him. And when, in the guise of Suez, it appeared to do so, Eden's reactions were not unlike those of a fearful child: ready to strike out, loss of control, personal bitterness, distrust and lonely withdrawal. Although somewhat simplistic and superficial, this interpretation is also more revealing than many other efforts to analyze the inexplicability of Eden's policies.

Consider next the life of Woodrow Wilson. His father, a stern but loving Presbyterian minister, dominated his son's youth and did his best to impart his values to the future president. "Fear God and work hard," was the leitmotif of the Wilson family. Guided by God's will, one made decisions and then had to pursue them without doubt or compromise. The world of temptation had to be resisted, not negotiated. When elected president in 1916, Wilson told a supporter: "I wish it clearly understood that I owe you nothing. Remember that God ordained that I should be the next President of the United States."

Wilson's righteousness, bred in youth and later transposed into the political arena, made compromise seem like sin. This rigidity prevented American entry into the League of Nations after World War I. Some modification, some accommodation of the views of his opponents in the United States Senate would have allowed American participation in the League. This could possibly have saved the League and may even have prevented World War II. But locked within Wilson's personality was the conviction that "the hand of God led us this way." He would yield to nothing; it had to be *all* Wilson's, or rather God's way. Eventually, the Senate elected for America to stay out of the League of Nations rather than accept entry on Wilson's terms. Victory with compromise was possible, but he chose to face defeat rather than accept partial success. Wilson failed not because of what he did or did not do. He failed because of what he *was*.¹⁷

Another illustration, perhaps the most sinister of all: Adolf Hitler. Major historical happenings rarely spring from any one cause, they are generally lodged in several sources. Yet, with-

out the presence of Hitler it is possible that World War II may not have taken place, or, at least, may not have expanded to such devastating proportions. In this sense, one individual may have been the cause of fifty million deaths—making Hitler arguably the most evil man in history.

Rational analysis cannot explain either Hitler's appeal to the German nation or his policies. Both were rooted in emotions rather than logic. And these emotions not only produced the compelling charisma that mesmerized a nation and its people, they also probably cost Hitler the war. Essentially, Hitler's war was two wars: a military war for Germany and a genocidal war for himself. Until the end of 1942, Hitler was able to fight both wars successfully. He could expand German territorial control and work at destroying the Jews at the same time. Thereafter, the might of a combined Russian-American-British alliance was too much for Hitler to fight both of his wars simultaneously.

A more rational leader would have, at this point, concentrated all of his efforts on the military struggle. Applied with full vigor, such a strategy may even have won the war. At a minimum, focusing all resources on the military conflict could have so prolonged the war that some negotiated conclusion may have resulted. The demons who inhabited Hitler's emotions did not allow this. To the end, as late as Spring 1945, Hitler was using desperately needed military resources for the elimination of Jews. The compulsions of the inner man were so strong that they dominated his public policy, producing a devastating defeat. Hitler's unwillingness or inability to contain his hatred for the Jews may have cost him victory or perhaps the prevention of defeat.

A vignette from Hitler's life suggests another possibility. In the early 1920s, Hitler consulted Dr. Alfred Schwenninger, a Munich psychiatrist. He requested treatment as a voluntary psychiatric patient because he was suffering the most frightening delusions. After examination, Dr. Schwenninger told the unemployed ex-soldier not to worry and analyzed him as a well-balanced young man.¹⁸ If Schwenninger or some more competent doctor had been able to treat Hitler at that time,

to exorcise the terrible forces which haunted his inner being and provoked his public policies, the world may have been spared so much agony.

RECENT HAPPENINGS—MAO AND THE SHAH

To come to more recent times, we have many other examples of the link between psyche and policy. The Mao duo make this point on the largest national stage. In Madame Mao's youth, her mother fled from a brutal husband and took her little daughter with her. Soon, poverty engulfed her and probably pushed her into prostitution.¹⁹ Knowing this, we can begin to connect the policies and the anti-establishment radicalism of the older Chiang Ch'ing to the experiences of her youth. The desire to suppress information about her childhood and the desire to expurgate society, impulses which were unleashed on China during and after the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, begin to take on a different meaning—as does Mao Tse-tung's otherwise inexplicable tolerance of her more extreme behavior.

Mao himself was an unhappy child, often beaten and verbally assaulted by his father. A selfmade small landowner, Mao's father demanded a traditional filial deference from his son. Mao's reaction, open defiance of attempts to impose parental authority, produced an early life full of raucous conflict.²⁰ At the age of sixteen in 1909, Mao left his home and father. Mao describes the situation: "My father was the Ruling Power. The opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother, and sometimes even the laborer."²¹

We can only speculate on whether his family circumstances became a model for Mao's political universe. Perhaps the roots of later insurrection were lodged in this family world and resentments against the rich and the powerful, a persistent theme of Mao's thought, were initially provoked by his father's attitudes. While the works of Marx, Rousseau, Darwin and others provided Mao with the abstract foundation for some

of his ideas, the conditions of his childhood may have been responsible for many of his revolutionary impulses. Mao's early family life could well have created situations which personalized rebellion and struggle.²²

Finally, let us look at the last Shah of Iran and the impact of his inner tensions on his policies of governance. Mohammed Reza Pahlevi was, by all accounts, a sensitive youth of delicate nature and health. Princess Ashraf, his twin sister, saw him as "gentle, reserved and almost painfully shy . . . frail and vulnerable."²³ The young Mohammed was intimidated by his coarse, tough father Reza Shah. "My father was the stuff of legends . . . we held him in respectful awe . . . his piercing eyes arrested anybody who met him. Those eyes could make a strong man shrivel up inside. . . . He was a powerful and formidable man and the good heart which beat beneath his rough cavalryman's exterior was not easily reached."²⁴

Reza Shah had considerable doubts about his son's capacity for kingship. Delicate and gentle qualities were weaknesses which would make the boy unfit to hold imperial office. These opinions he expressed freely, constantly reminding Mohammed of his inadequacies. Not satisfied with admonition, he also attempted remedies through vigorous and rough instruction. Reza Shah retained these doubts about his son to the end of his reign when his abdication was forced by Britain and Russia in September 1941.

Mohammed once described to me the last meeting he had with his father. He said it was the first time in his life he had seen him behave like a father, and not, as always before, like a king or a commander-in-chief. There were tears in the old man's eyes when they met, and the young man felt too moved to speak. The father's first remark was a question: "Can you keep the throne?" The son said nothing. "I didn't fail to keep the throne," the father went on, "but forces stronger than me defeated me. I kept the throne for you. Will you be able to keep it?" The son could only nod.²⁵

The Shah recounts: "The very last message I received from him in his exile (in South Africa) was on a phonograph record. 'My son,' he said to me, 'fear nothing'. . . I owed it to his

memory to continue to the very end the task which he had undertaken."²⁶ We do not know what made the Shah rule or condone rule by terror in his last years or what induced the political paralysis of his last months in power in 1978. But, somewhere within him must have been memories of Reza Shah stamping the need for brutality in government on the kindly nature of a young man and also Reza's prophecies about the young man's lack of toughness—memories which haunted the Shah throughout his life. The Shah's policies were as much the prisoner of his father's psychological legacy as they were products of his own statecraft.

PSYCHOLOGY AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Using a more psychologically oriented approach, as we have done to the happenings that have been discussed, gives us different perspectives on history and politics. We see how many public figures are affected knowingly or unknowingly by impulses flowing from their inner life. While the roots and nature of these impulses often become known long after the principal characters pass from the public stage, the use of the psychological approach enables an understanding of some of the less evident, yet very important elements in history. It may also help us to recognize some of the dangers lurking within the confines of contemporary public life.

We have, at considerable length, made this point: history is replete with examples of the influence, conscious or unconscious, that the inner life has on the public policy and behavior of powerful men and women. Three important sets of questions now arise:

- **Can none really avoid this connection? Are all public figures captives of their inner feelings? Are the policies of all those in public life influenced by these feelings, known or unknown? Can some overcome the scars on their psyche and try to divorce public policy from personal emotion?**
- **Does an understanding of this connection lead to possible**

manipulation by those who are aware of the intensity of these inner feelings, and exploit them to advantage in their dealings with public figures?

- Can we apply the same psychological explanation to political movements and the attachments they inspire?

Each question requires separate examination.

From our historical review it would be easy to assume that every individual is somehow the captive of his or her inner feelings and that his or her public policies, ideas and behavior are infused with these private emotions. While I believe that there is some truth in this assertion, and indeed none can really escape the connection between their private and public worlds, there are personalities in whom the impact of this link is less consequential, consciously controlled or otherwise reduced. In such cases, of course, the inner tensions of the individual become a less influential factor in public affairs.

Some important actors and thinkers in history appear to have transcended or tried to understand and manage their private passions. Among these was Abraham Lincoln. For years, Lincoln was subject to periods of intense depression. The essential nature of his melancholia still eludes us, but of its presence there is no doubt. A visiting French nobleman, the Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun, was one of many to observe the rapid alternation of Lincoln's moods:

He willingly laughed either at what was being said or at what he himself was saying. Then, suddenly, he would retire himself and close his eyes, while his face expressed a melancholy as indescribable as it was deep. After a few moments, as though by an effort of the will, he would shake off his mysterious weight and his generous and open disposition again reasserted itself. I have counted, in one evening, more than twenty of such alternations of mood.²⁷

Lincoln tried to disguise this melancholia and used humor and storytelling to reduce its impact on him. Charles Strozier, in his psychobiography of Lincoln, discusses ways in which Lincoln used his humor:

Humor served therapeutic purposes for Lincoln. . . . Humor seemed to provide a kind of vitality for Lincoln, a zest that kept his depression at bay. More hypothetically, it also seems that the effectiveness of his humor helped him to tolerate the regressive pulls of depression and thus to stop fearing his melancholy, as he probably did in his childhood and certainly did in his youth. Humor never completely eliminated his depression—he was gloomy to the end. But it helped ease his radical shifts in mood and gave him confidence that he himself need not disintegrate in his depression.²⁸

For Lincoln, humor and amusing anecdotes were the correctives which prevented distortions of judgment and mood: “Were it not for these stories I should die; they are the vents through which my sadness, my gloom and my melancholy escape.”²⁹ Personalities like Lincoln have been able to reduce the connection between private moods and public expressions. It can and has been done, but it requires a rare and selfanalytical personality to be able to do this.

There are other major historical figures whose private passions scarcely touched their public policy—at least, as far as we know or are able to conjecture. Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt are possibly in this category. There is no evidence to suggest that President Roosevelt’s well-documented extra marital romances, particularly his long relationship with Lucy Mercer Rutherford, had any influence on his political decisions or outlook.³⁰ Eleanor’s devotion to her friend Lorena Hickok, an association with strong lesbian overtones, also does not appear to have had a major impact on her public actions and positions.³¹

We do not know whether the Roosevelts consciously segmented their private life from their public life, deliberately separating the two spheres by their own analytical efforts. Perhaps the strength of their characters enabled them to place intellect beyond some emotions. It may also have been that their respective romantic involvements were not very deep attachments—although they were long lasting—and thus not meaningful enough to provoke more than superficial emotions. Whether either or both explanations are valid, Franklin

and Eleanor Roosevelt, in their own ways, illustrate how important parts of the private life can apparently be irrelevant to the public persona. However, they were two very exceptional characters. Each was a mature and well-rounded personality enjoying the security of social regard and personal esteem which did not depend on their public position. These are circumstances available to very few.

MANIPULATIONS

The second question which we identified concerned the potential for manipulation by those who understand the intensity of the inner feelings of public figures. The possibility of influencing public policy in this way certainly does exist—as the power of two master manipulators illustrates. In 1905, the hypnotic monk Rasputin gained access to the court of Czar Nicholas II. During the next eleven years, he became an intimate associate of the Czar and Czarina, and was instrumental in saving the young Crown Prince from bleeding to death from the sickness of hemophilia. Through adroit psychological exploitation of the Czar and Czarina, achieved by combining mysticism with his power over their favorite child, Rasputin began to intervene in affairs of state.³² When he was assassinated in December 1916, Rasputin was the most talked about and possibly the most influential man in Russia. The disrepute into which he brought the royal household was an important factor in the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

More recently, we have seen the impacts of the manipulations of J. Edgar Hoover on American public policy. In several decades as Director of the FBI, Hoover had accumulated a vast treasury of data on the psychological tendencies, private lives and peccadillos, and medical problems of prominent persons. Possession of this information gave Hoover extraordinary power over people and policy. He was able to anticipate and psychologically influence the attitudes of those in powerful positions and intimidate them into allowing

him an unimpeded freedom to execute his own programs through the FBI. The result was a considerable misuse of government resources as Hoover carried out his personal vendettas and concentrated law enforcement efforts on his own fancied projects. His campaign against Martin Luther King and his anti-communist efforts, both resented but unrestrained by his superiors, were among these activities.

For at least ten years before his death in office in 1972, successive Presidents and Attorneys-General wanted to retire or dismiss Hoover. None succeeded because Hoover was able to manipulate or frighten them. John and Robert Kennedy feared his knowledge of the president's romances and the criminal connections of at least one of these girlfriends.³³ They disliked Hoover's policies and disapproved of his tactics—to no avail. President Kennedy's sexual promiscuity thus became directly relevant to his political policies.

President Johnson could not or would not get rid of Hoover. To him, it was "better to have Hoover inside our tent pissing out, than outside our tent pissing in." President Nixon, too, attempted to dismiss Hoover in late 1971 and failed.³⁴ Finally, Hoover died in harness at the age of seventy-seven, a prime example of how it is possible to use awareness of psychological and other flaws to create and influence public policies against the wishes of those who hold supreme power. Yet, to do this takes three unusual attributes: access to special information, a skill at psychological assessment, and an extraordinary capacity for manipulation. Fortunately, these attributes are not often found together in any single person in public life. We must then conclude that this capacity for manipulation, although possibly desired by many, is not easily attained.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Our third question concerns psychological explanations for the success of political movements. The conventional approach to the analysis of political movements generally suggests that there are material reasons or appeals which draw

people to these movements. Among these reasons are promises of economic improvements, more effective management of government, delivery of specific rights and benefits to certain groups of people, and reduction of the problems which concern the average citizen. Other appeals are less mundane, but do have a kind of tangible texture about them: the advancement of national interests in international affairs and the enhancement of liberties at home. Added to these programmatic elements is the drawing force of leadership—tangible in the sense of visibility and achievement, intangible in the unseen and yet often electric presence of charisma. While these appear to be the primary reasons for the attraction of political movements, there are sometimes additional concealed inner reasons which contribute to their success. Two examples at opposite ends of the political spectrum reinforce this observation.

The success of Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for Indian independence was largely due to his capacity to mobilize psychology. Gandhi had no material assets at his disposal. In fact, his movement offered the opposite—a disavowal of worldly benefits available from the British rulers of India and a dedication to a scaled down way of life embodied in Gandhian austerity. Appealing to the psychology of India's masses, offering them only the satisfactions of nationalism, Gandhi was able to forge a Congress movement which eventually ejected the mighty British Empire from India in 1947. His weapons and his appeal were primarily psychological and the response of the masses was essentially of a psychological nature.

The darker side of political psychology is illustrated by the Nazi movement in Germany. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Nazis offered many inducements to the German electorate—law and order, potential prosperity, a physical reconstruction of Germany. So did many other political parties with a more credible background and greater governmental experience. What distinguished the Nazi movement from others, and propelled it to power through the democratic choice of the voters in 1933, was its ability to tap the psychological wellsprings of the German polity.

The Nazis gave Germans a simple and untrue, but psychologically acceptable, explanation for the loss of World War I and the plight of the Great Depression. They also provided people with something and someone to hate, onto whom blame for the condition of society could be transferred—to Jews, Communists, the Allies in World War I, anyone but themselves. Released through Hitler's charismatic personality, this emotion was enough to bring them to office. It is important to remember that Hitler's success, at this early stage, was essentially psychological and the appeal of the Nazi movement attracted even those who had doubts about Hitler's personality.

In this rather long introductory discussion we have tried to establish certain linkages between events and feelings, and between feelings and actions and policies. These perspectives are sometimes speculative and tentative. Yet, there is enough evidence, some of it presented here, to suggest that this line of analysis and investigation may be worth applying to Marxism and Marx. The psychological roots of the Marxist appeal have been insufficiently discussed and there is a substantial amount of little known and new information on Marx, which could illuminate events and attitudes in his life. It is to these that we now move.

II

EXPLAINING MARXISM AND MARXISTS

MARXISM, WHETHER ONE LIKES IT OR NOT, is the most important political movement of this century. If we place its conceptual origins in *The Communist Manifesto*, first published in 1848, it has existed for about 135 years as an intellectual proposition. The first government claiming to embody a communist political structure was established in the Soviet Union in 1917, just sixty-eight years ago. Today, around one-third of the global population is governed by systems which claim to be inspired by communism.

At the time of Karl Marx's death in 1883 there were probably not more than five thousand members of communist parties around the world. Well into the early part of the twentieth century, the communist movement was not regarded as a serious political force. Even true believers had doubts. In January 1917, Lenin, then an exile for the better part of two decades, told a small gathering of young revolutionaries in Zurich: "We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution."¹ Today, there are about eighty million card-carrying members, the committed elite, of communist parties in over one hundred countries.² Whatever yard-stick we use, this is a remarkable expansion.

Such formidable growth naturally evokes extensive examination. Vast numbers of studies have tried to explain this success. The results of these analyses generally indicate three sources for the advancement of the Marxist movement—the appeal of Marxist ideas, conditions of alienation and poverty

and oppression which make Marxism acceptable as a socio-economic solution and make communist parties an acceptable agent of protest, and the effective nature of communist organization and leadership.

EXPLANATIONS OF SUCCESS

The first explanation, the appeal of Marxist ideas, suggests that the concepts advanced by Marx have an enduring and dual appeal. Intellectuals are attracted by Marx's economic interpretation of history and the attempt to both analyze and present solutions for political and economic problems. The attachment of larger numbers is, in a way, the fulfillment of a prophecy made by the nineteenth century Swiss philosopher Jakob Burckhardt: "The future belongs to the masses or to those who can explain things simply to them." For the masses, Marxism provides an easily grasped explanation of why and what things are wrong in society and a means for correcting these wrongs. Politics is, after all, more often about belief than about fact—and belief does not have to be true to be moving, nor does it have to be consistent to be convincing. Finally, both intellectuals and masses are drawn to the visionary ideal of a classless world promised by Marxism and to the economic guarantees and entitlements that go with it.

The second explanation, the conditions of alienation and poverty and oppression that provoke acceptance of communism, is more situational. Events have often produced conditions in which the established political and social order is ripe for destruction. Communists, by strategy or luck, have been at the correct place at the correct time in history. And so, as in Russia and China and Cuba, they have been able to grab power or to convince large numbers of non-communists to support their efforts to overturn the existing system. In more affluent nations, such as contemporary Italy or France, the appeal of communism is largely attributed to the disaffection of workers and the alienation of youth. Having a long record of resistance to the existing order, communism has a

head start on moral outrage when that order begins to turn oppressive or is neglectful of those living within it.

The third broad explanation suggests that the organization and the leadership of communist groups have largely accounted for their success. Communists have had a number of outstanding leaders, from Lenin to Mao Tse-tung, and their party structure is often able to resist or survive destructive assaults. An official Russian interpretation endorses this view. *Theses on Lenin*, a government sponsored publication issued on his birth centenary in 1970, sums up his contribution to communism in this way:

Lenin gave answers to the most urgent problems posed by the course of historical development, he developed in every way the theory of socialist revolution and the building of a communist society, he armed the Russian and the entire international revolutionary movement with a scientifically-based strategy and tactics and he headed the struggle of the working class to bring the ideals of socialism to life.

The Marxist focus on organization derives much of its force from Lenin's idea that the primary essential for successful revolutionary action was a small, unified and dedicated group of professional communists. As he explained it:

I assert that it is far more difficult to unearth a dozen wise men than a hundred fools . . . by "wise men" in connection with organization, I mean *professional revolutionaries* . . . no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders . . . the broader the popular mass drawn spontaneously into the struggle, the more urgent the need for such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be . . . such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity . . . the more we confine the membership of such an organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity, the more difficult it will be to unearth the organization.³

This clandestine, close-knit approach to organization was an attitude that Marx rejected. For many years, Lenin fought with party colleagues who wanted a broader, more partici-

pative democratic communist movement. He eventually separated from them in 1903 and established his own Bolshevik group.⁴ This is why much of current communist ideology is often and correctly called Marxism-Leninism.

Each of these three analyses of the success of communism, and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, has considerable validity. However, what is interesting about most explanations is that they *are* confined to these categories. Few significant studies look beyond these and suggest that there may be additional psychological reasons which, consciously or not, enhance the appeal of Marxism.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

There are two other and very important reasons for this enhancement, both of which have a psychological element. Most ideologies and philosophies demand suppression of the more negative components of human feeling—envy, resentment, hatred. Marxism legitimizes these emotions and provides an avenue for their expression. Harnessed to the service of the Marxist cause, these emotions are even applauded and considered constructive by Marxists. If we accept that there are darker impulses contained within the human psyche, an ideology which justifies them must have a strong unconscious appeal, especially for the disadvantaged and underprivileged.

A second psychological reason contains an element of irony in that it is antithetical to the conventional Marxist stress on material factors. In the modern world, many people do not abandon existing social and political systems because of poverty alone. The capacity of the poor to endure their condition is remarkable. Humiliation, it seems, is often a more corrosive agent of provoking disillusion with the prevailing order than poverty itself.

Humiliation comes in many forms, most of them psychological. It often includes the visibility of conspicuous wealth and vulgar consumerism in the midst of poverty, the ill-treatment of social inferiors, the denial of human dignity. Marxism

encourages and consoles the victims of humiliation and makes their weakness a form of virtue and martyrdom. Above all, it offers hope and the certainty of absolute historical redemption: Marx's prediction that communism is inevitable as human history evolves. No matter that Marxism has lost its credibility as either a theory of history or society, and that in practice it has failed to produce Marx's promises. The ultimate persistence of the Marxist appeal is rooted not in the decreasing evidence of its effectiveness, but in the power of its psychological charisma.

This psychological approach to the analysis of Marxism has not been much used or developed. The reasons for this reluctance are somewhat obscure. Perhaps the newness of this perspective or its speculative nature has deterred scholars from following this line of investigation. And the reluctance to use psychological approaches appears to have spilled into the ways in which the lives of Marxist leaders have been studied. There are a large number of biographies of eminent Marxists, but few have examined the psychological side and inside of these votaries.

In recent years, some scholars have attempted to develop this approach. Robert Jay Lifton, in 1968, made a pioneering attempt to explain the Cultural Revolution in China as Mao Tse-tung's personal quest for revolutionary immortality. In 1976, Lucien W. Pye wrote the first, and thus far only, significant full-length psychobiography of Mao—the man inside the leader. Bruce Mazlish has presented both Lenin and Mao in this perspective, while discussing personal ascetism as a seedbed for revolutionary impulses of political leaders. In 1974, Rolf Theen outlined the influences which affected Lenin in his emotionally formative years. And Robert Tucker has explored the makings of the future tyrant through a study of the personality of the young Stalin. Finally, Alexander Solzhenitsyn draws a compelling, although heavily fictionalized, psychological portrait of Lenin in his novel *Lenin in Zurich*.⁵

This is, however, only a small fraction of the extensive biographical literature on Marxist leaders. It points to the meager attempts made in this area of psychological study. In

particular, there has been a minimal effort to use this focus on the two most written about and important figures in the Marxist pantheon—Lenin and Marx. Interestingly, the lives of both suggest that certain emotional happenings had profound impacts on their personalities and, consequently, on their ideas and public actions.

In Lenin's life, two emotional events created deep furrows. The first was the execution of his brother Alexander for complicity in the planned assassination of Czar Alexander III in 1887; the event which made the apolitical seventeen year old Lenin into a revolutionary and which had a lifelong affect on his political ideas and tactics. The second was a ten year (1910-20) attachment to Inessa Armand, a beautiful revolutionary activist.⁶ This relationship, deliberately obscured by Soviet authorities for several decades, must have imposed extraordinary pressures on a man who was generally extremely puritanical and denied himself any social relaxations—and who could publicly declare that “morality is entirely subordinate to the class war”;⁷ and that “promiscuity in sexual matters is bourgeois. It is a sign of degeneration.”⁸

In fact, as late as 1920, Lenin was expressing highly conservative ideas on sexual morality. He told German Communist leader Clara Zetkin:

No doubt you have heard about the famous story that in communist society satisfying sexual desire and the craving for love is as simple and trivial as drinking a glass of water . . . to be sure, thirst has to be quenched. But would a normal person normally lie down in the gutter and drink from a puddle? Or even from a glass whose edge has been greased by many lips? . . . I will not vouch for the reliability or the endurance of women whose love affair is intertwined with politics, or for the men who run after every petticoat and let themselves in with every young female. No, no, that does not go well with revolution.⁹

Inessa Armand, a believer in the ideal of free love, would scarcely agree with these sentiments.¹⁰

Although these important influences have been little used in explaining Lenin's character and policies, they are relatively

well-known and documented. By contrast, there is a shaded part of Marx's life which is little known and is of considerable significance in helping us understand the man and his attitudes. To examine these shadows and the revelations they disclose about Marx, his life and work is our next task.



Helen Demuth in youth



Helen Demuth in old age

Part II

THE DEADLY SECRET OF KARL MARX

III

THE FOUR LIVES OF KARL MARX

KARL MARX WAS BORN on May 5, 1818 in the ancient West German city of Trier. He died on March 14, 1883 in London. Contained within these sixty-five years was the substance of his existence—wandering, constant poverty, intellectual attainment, conflict, illness and tragedy. In Marx, immense scholarship intermingled with a volcanic temperament, aggressive public posturing coexisted with affectionate family relationships, a fierce sense of independence accompanied an unrelenting willingness to solicit financial assistance from friends and relatives. Knowing little happiness or calm in his external life, beset with the anxiety of periodic poverty, Marx fashioned an enduringly happy world within the narrow universe of his immediate family.

These contrasts of personality and circumstance infuse the lives of Karl Marx. And lives they were, because Marx was a multilayered individual whose intellectual urgings struggled to express themselves in a variety of approaches to the problems of political economy. As we look back on Marx, four different representations emerge. The first is the young Marx: a naive, democratic, humane and hopeful figure. This was the Marx who proclaimed that “the standpoint of the new [society] is *human* society, or socialized humanity.”¹ There was a touch of romanticism and of poetry in the early Marx, emotions reflected in many verses he composed at that time.² Yet, underlying this youthful hopefulness was a lurking intensity foreshadowing the intransigence of the older man. How

clearly this emerges in a little known poem entitled *Feelings*, written when Marx was about eighteen.

Never can I do in peace
That with which my Soul's obsessed.
Never take things at my ease
I must press on without rest.

Others know only elation
When things go their peaceful way,
Free with self-congratulation
Giving thanks each time they pray.

I am caught in endless strife
Endless ferment, endless dream;
I cannot conform to life
Will not travel with the stream.

Heaven I would comprehend
I would draw the world to me;
Loving, hating, I intend
That my star shine brilliantly.

Worlds I would destroy for ever
Since I can create no world,
Since my call they notice never
Coursing dumb in magic whirl.

Therefore let us risk our all
Never resting, never tiring;
Not in silence dismal, dull
Without action or desiring.

Not in brooding introspection
Bowed beneath a yoke of pain,
So that yearning, dream and action
Unfulfilled to us remain.

The time to talk of destroying worlds had, however, not arrived. A generalized humanity, service to humankind as an ennobling activity, characterized the optimistic worldview of the young man who wrote:

History calls those the greatest men who, while working for the universal, ennobled themselves; experience praises as the most happy the one who has made the most people happy; religion itself teaches us that the ideal, striven for by all, is the one who sacrificed himself for humanity, and who would dare contest such claims?³

Many of these sentiments continue into the period of the *Communist Manifesto*. Written in 1848, when Marx was thirty years old, the manifesto urged communists to develop peaceful collaboration with other progressive forces and to "labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."⁴ It was the early Marx who felt that the victory of the proletariat was inevitable and that "the inevitably impending dissolution of modern bourgeois property" would soon be accomplished.⁵

At this stage in his intellectual evolution, Marx was deeply concerned about issues such as the freedom of the press. "Administrators and the administered both need a third element, which is political without being bureaucratic. . . . This complementary element, composed of a political head and a civic heart, is a *free press*. . . . The 'free press', as it is the product of public opinion, also produces public opinion."⁶ He felt then that a free press was indispensable for a good political society.

In 1843, Marx believed that "the socialist principle itself represents, on the whole, only one side, affecting the *reality* of the true human essence. We have to concern ourselves just as much with the other side." He spoke of reform and forgiveness:

Our motto must therefore be: Reform of consciousness not through dogmas, but through analyzing the mystical consciousness, the consciousness which is unclear to itself, whether it ap-

pears in religious or political form. Then it will transpire that the world has long been dreaming of something that it can acquire if only it becomes conscious of it. It will transpire that it is not a matter of drawing a great dividing line between past and future, but of carrying out the thoughts of the past. And finally, it will transpire that mankind begins no *new* work, but consciously accomplishes its old work. So, we can express the trend in one word: the work of our time to clarify to itself (critical philosophy) the meaning of its own struggle and its own desires. This is the work for the world and for us. It can only be the work of joint forces. It is a matter of *confession*, no more. To have its sins forgiven mankind has only to declare them to be what they really are.⁷

The young Marx was also deeply worried about the dogmatic nature of early communists.

I am therefore not in favor of raising a dogmatic flag; quite the contrary. We should try to help the dogmatists clarify their ideas. Thus communism, in particular, is a dogmatic abstraction, and by this I do not mean some fanciful or potential communist, but the real, existing communism, as Cabet, Dēzamy, Weitling, etc., teach and conceive it. This communism is itself separate from the humanist principle.⁸

Soon, Marx was to change his opinion of communism. By 1844, he had embraced it, dogmatism and all. And he was soon to assume the leading role in the molding and development of the most dogmatic form of communism, that which we now know as Marxism. As Marx grew older, a different element surfaced—a harsher, more dogmatic Marx began to emerge. His concern with human liberties was subordinated to angry frustrations at the nonfulfillment of his political expectations. The imminent revolution of his youth was painfully slow in arriving, the class struggle was not progressing with an urgency in European society, the communist movement was fragmented and internally conflicted.

The tone and approach of Marx, as he addressed the condition of life around him, became harder. The great duty of the working class is “to conquer political power.”⁹ The de-

fenders of the existing order are "wolves, swine and vile dogs."¹⁰ And, then, "to smash [the bureaucratic-military machinery] . . . is the prerequisite for every real people's revolution."¹¹ The worker "must seize political power . . . he must overthrow the old politics."¹² In 1879, Marx was asked whether believers in socialism advocate assassination and bloodshed in order to carry out the principles of socialism. His answer: "No great movement has ever been inaugurated without bloodshed. . . . Every country gives proof of this, and as for assassination it is not a new thing."¹³ Words such as "destroy," "smash" and "attack" become more frequent in his writings and speeches; discussions of liberties and rights become less evident. When the English socialist Henry Hyndman remarked that he (Hyndman) grew more tolerant as he grew older, Marx was surprised and remarked: "Do you? Do you?"¹⁴

As the younger Marx merges into the older Marx these changes are perhaps inevitable. Yet, there is still another Marx: the mythical Marx. This is the omniscient sage, the creation of generations of Marxist devotees. Deification has produced a legend of supreme wisdom and this image is often worshipped as a patron saint by Marxists. Selected quotations are presented to suggest that Marx had a patent on all social, economic and political wisdom. While foolish Marxists accept this portrayal, clever Marxists use its charisma to legitimize their actions and to have these actions accepted by their followers. This is how Marx lives on in the imagination of many true believers.

Behind these three representations—the young Marx, the older Marx and the mythical Marx—is another and more real Marx. The historical and personal Marx was a very human character, whose life was full of trials and troubles. This fourth incarnation had all the problems of extreme poverty while trying to preserve the appearance of middle class respectability. Even more trying for the human Marx was the need to manage and separate two irreconcilable parts of his private life: the conventional family existence full of happy relationships and another segment of his life which had to be con-

cealed from almost everyone.

Each of these four lives of Marx relates to some element of his activities. These can be broadly grouped into three principal areas: his professional and public activities, his intellectual efforts, and his personal life. We must examine each of these further if we are to get a clearer idea of the man and those emotions which motivated him.

PROFESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Throughout his life Marx's public activities were a failure. By profession, if it could be said that he had one, Marx was an editor and writer. However, employment was irregular and the income very small. In his youth, Marx had been editor of several publications in Prussia and France—a newspaper, journals and other periodicals. None of them lasted for long. He later became a prolific journalist, contributing many articles to magazines and the popular press. For a ten-year period, between 1852 and 1862, Marx was the London correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune* and wrote regularly for some European newspapers. Most of these articles were commentaries and analyses of newsworthy topics, rather than direct news reportage. The financial rewards for these efforts were so insignificant that they did little to ease the poverty in which the Marx family lived.

Marx was the author of several books and booklets. Most of these concerned philosophic and political issues, and sometimes controversies, in which Marx was engaged. Engels collaborated in some writings. Many of these works received moderately wide circulation, particularly among leftist political groups, and were translated into several European languages. Yet, in his lifetime, none of his writings was a commercial success (many were undertaken without payment) and his earnings and popular public recognition from this source were limited.

The two works for which Marx is best known have become major sellers in the twentieth century, but earned little for

their author in his lifetime. *The Communist Manifesto* was written without recompense for the shortlived Communist League in 1848. The first volume of *Das Kapital* was initially published in a German edition of 1,000 copies in 1867 and attracted little attention. The first foreign translation appeared in Russia where 3,000 copies were printed in 1872 and the book began to have an impact on intellectuals and professional economists. A second German edition appeared in 1873. In 1875, a French translation sold 10,000 copies—a considerable success in those days. But, the revenues to Marx were not very large. During his lifetime there was no English translation (or even a serious review) of *Das Kapital*. This came only in 1887, twenty years after the original German printing. The first volume of *Kapital* was Marx's last book; the second and third volumes prepared from his notes by Engels appeared after his death in 1883.

Reflecting on the response of the public and of critics to his life of writing, Marx must surely have been deeply disappointed. Some of these sentiments surface in his postscript to the second German edition (1873) of *Das Kapital*: "Learned and unlearned spokesmen of the German bourgeoisie tried at first to kill *Das Kapital* by silence, as they managed to do with my earlier writings." In fact, there was no conspiracy, there was just little interest. Marx would have never suspected the tremendous posthumous interest and sales of his works.

The public activities of Marx also involved his participation in a number of political organizations and radical voluntary associations. From time to time, these included the German Communist League, the Communist League, the Club of German Workers in Paris, the German Worker's Educational Society, the International Working Men's Association (First International), and the Land and Labour League. Marx was always a vigorous and contentious member of any group which he joined, but none of them existed for long. Invariably, they began with high hopes and bold intentions, disintegrated into warring factions, and dissolved in controversy. How ever we evaluate his skills, it is clear that Marx's talents were not organizational or conciliatory.

What we must remember here is that Marx desperately desired an organizational base for advancing his ideas, but at no time in his life did this evolve. Nor was there any indication of the great organizational success of communism which developed in the twentieth century. To Marx, it must have looked as if his ideas would continue as abstract philosophies without the support of any mass movement—a deeply frustrating prospect for the man who proclaimed that “philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it.”¹⁵

INTELLECTUAL EFFORTS

Marx’s intellectual efforts are his best known and most enduring legacy. For over forty years, he labored toward two closely connected intellectual goals—to develop a systematic, all-inclusive synthesis of knowledge which would explain the socio-economic evolution of humankind, and to provide a rationale and a vision for those who wanted to change society. Drawing on earlier analyses by others, Marx began to establish new interpretations. As he stated it:

As far as I am concerned, the credit for having discovered the existence and the conflict of classes in modern society does not belong to me. Bourgeois historians presented the historical development of this class struggle, the economists showed its economic anatomy, long before I did. What I did that was new was to prove (1) that the existence of classes is linked to predetermined historical phases of the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) that this dictatorship itself is only the transition leading to the abolition of all classes and the establishment of a classless society.¹⁶

Eventually, the grand themes of what we call Marxism began to emerge. In essence, they present a threefold pattern. The first part concerns the lineaments of social evolution—an economic interpretation of history illustrating how economic forces have been the principal agency of moving society from

one stage to another. The second part concerns the condition of modern society, an analysis of the different classes that exist, a theory of capital which establishes the basis for class conflict, and a revolutionary program by which the proletarian class would act as the catalyst for changing existing society. The third part concerns the ultimate and inevitable conclusion of history—the vision of a communist, classless society. There is, overall, a predictive certainty that history *must* move along these lines and that the victory of communism *will* be the eventual and undeniable destiny of the world.

There is a grandeur in this concept, infused as it is with Marx's immense learning and mastery of historical data and detail. The sweep of his mind and his passionate pursuit of economic justice still enchant many intellectuals and seekers of social equity. However, there are serious problems with his scheme of history and human progress. The first is in methodology. In his approach, Marx attempted to use and apply the techniques of the natural sciences to social phenomena. It is a highly seductive quest for an outstanding intellect: to find and establish laws by which history and society operate. But, because nature functions by certain fixed laws of physics, biology, geology and the like does not mean that society and human behavior function according to similar predetermined rules. Marx's proposition of scientific laws for society founders on the unpredictability of human nature.

Another problem rests in the variety and extent of Marx's writings. While they provide a rich lode for scholars, it is also possible to find authority for a number of conflicting positions. At different times in his career, Marx changed his ideas. While many of these changes relate to relatively inconsequential matters, and the master themes remain relatively constant, it is sometimes difficult to discern which opinion is the "real" Marxist view! Take, for example, his attitude to child labor. *The Communist Manifesto* calls for the abolition of child labor in factories. Yet, almost thirty years later, Marx was saying that:

A general prohibition of child labor is incompatible with the ex-

istence of large-scale industry and hence an empty, pious wish. Its realization—if it were possible—would be reactionary, since, with a strict regulation of the working time according to different age groups and other safety measures for the protection of children, an early combination of productive labor with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society.¹⁷

There is also a major gap in the tactical side of Marx's theories, a gap that was later to be filled with the pernicious Leninist doctrines of democratic centralism, the one-party state, and the use of terror by communist governments in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx analyzed social evolution and urged the revolutionary change of existing society. He then portrayed the communist ideal: "When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared . . . in place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."¹⁸ However, he did not address the question of how to go from revolution to vision, and did not develop any credible model for the construction of this visionary society. Others, including Lenin and Mao Tse-tung, have since filled this lacunae, but we do not know whether their tactics or any other means are consistent with Marx's vision. Thus, in many ways, Marx's theories are incomplete. In filling these gaps, many inhuman and dangerous methods have permeated and been irrevocably incorporated into Marxism in the twentieth century.

In examining Marx's ideas the problem of permanency is an enduring concern. Marx and many Marxists consider his ideas and his explanations of the human condition appropriate for all societies. However, the rapid transformation of industrial economies and the possibility that traditional agrarian nations can leapfrog over Marx's stages of history into the modern world have given new dimensions to modern life-dimensions that Marx, living in the early days of the industrial era could not possibly have foreseen. Today, his ideas appear rather simplistic and obsolete, and can no longer serve as a

suitable guide for modern economies or as effective ways of understanding history. Societies which try to adopt his prescriptions find themselves in deep economic trouble. Developments in biology, psychology and sociology have given us new perspectives on history and society. Marx's wisdom may have been relevant for a time, not for all time.

The promise of Marx's ideas have also been disproven by their working. If the ideas were effectively applied, Marxists have believed that they would produce four beneficial results: an end to international conflicts, the withering away of the state, a classless society and the end of inequality, and a dynamic social and economic transformation. Where Marxism or variants of it have been tried as a socio-economic system, none of these hopes have been realized. Communist states now conflict most frequently with other communist states. Under Marxist forms of government the state or the state bureaucracy has become stronger and more powerful. The classless society remains a distant dream and elements of inequality have sometimes been encouraged by communist governments as incentives for increasing production. And no Marxist economy is today a dynamic model. In fact, most Marxist economies now seek outside assistance. The experience of Marxism, at least in the many forms in which it has been tried, has undercut its major theoretical hopes.

Yet, the intellectual legacy endures. Not only did Marx use original techniques of analysis, he unknowingly fathered schools of social and economic investigation which have contributed significantly to human advancement. And Marx's own writings provided new instruments for social action. Historian Saul Padover sees the *Communist Manifesto* in this context:

The *Manifesto* introduced a new and baneful note into the revolutionary movement—the idea of conflict and hate. Up to that time, socialists had tended to be humanists and utopians, emphasizing the brotherhood of man, rather than the solidarity of class. But in the *Manifesto* Marx stressed struggle, violence and class. He viewed men, not as brothers, but as constant enemies who fight for power, and not for humane ideals. He also declared war on Europe's assorted forms of socialism. The concept of class

conflict was designed to separate socialists, who believed in humanitarianism and democracy, from communists, who were now armed with a new historic revelation of their presumably inevitable victory through class war. In the *Manifesto*, Marx supplied communists with a battle rationale against the civilized world.¹⁹

Marx accomplished several of his intellectual goals. He did develop a new synthesis of socio-economic knowledge and he did present propositions which helped to fashion important changes in society. However, the validity of this synthesis and its applicability remain highly questionable.

Not all of this was visible to Marx in his day. To him, there must have been a disturbing lack of recognition by his intellectual peers and contemporaries. Darwin even refused Marx permission to dedicate the projected second volume of *Das Kapital* to him. In Marx's mind there was no doubt that he had created a new and magnificent philosophy—at least the equal in the social sciences of Darwin's discoveries in the natural sciences. Yet, recognition was confined to a small coterie, most of them on the fringe of the philosophic mainstream of the time. Other and lesser thinkers were being celebrated throughout Europe. Marx had to live with indifference and occasional rejection.

PERSONAL LIFE

Four themes weave through Marx's personal life—a mixture of paradox, happiness, misery and deceit. First, the paradox. Marx was born of German Jewish parents and a long rabbinical line of forebears. One or two years before his birth his father converted, reluctantly, to Protestant Christianity in order to continue in the legal profession in Prussia. The family remained conscious and proud of their Jewish heritage. Yet, Marx was pronouncedly anti-Semitic in his writings. An article entitled *On the Jewish Question*, published in February 1844, is replete with derogatory remarks about Jews and ends with this observation: "The social emancipation of the Jew is the

emancipation of society from Jewishness.”²⁰ Saul Padover refers to this article as he comments on Marx’s attitude to Jews:

Marx never retracted his defamation of the Jews, and this was to have its influence on socialist thinking. On the contrary, he harbored a lifelong hostility towards them. In his *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), a brief compilation of pithy sayings, he thought it necessary to drag in his bias, referring to the “dirty Jewish” aspect of Christianity. His private letters are replete with anti-Semitic remarks, caricatures, and crude epithets: “Levy’s Jewish nose,” “usurers,” “Jew-boy,” “nigger-Jew,” etc. For reasons perhaps explainable by the German concept *Selbsthass* (self-hate), Marx’s hatred of Jews was a canker which neither time nor experience ever eradicated from his soul.²¹

What created this rejection of a long family tradition we will never know. It sits ill with his lifelong veneration of his father and his concern for the underprivileged. Most Jews in Europe at that time were poor and victims of discrimination, but Marx never showed any sympathy for their condition.

With his associates, Marx was often abusive and vicious, stern and unbending. In the course of time, there was hardly a friend or acquaintance (except perhaps Friedrich Engels) with whom he did not quarrel or condemn, ridicule and criticize. He ruthlessly and personally attacked both the ideas and motives of those with whom he disagreed.²² Yet, within his own small circle of intimates, and especially with his immediate family, Marx was a very different sort of man. Here he was extraordinarily affectionate and kind, fun-loving and generous, with a taste for the good things of life which he could rarely afford. Whenever his finances allowed, and often when they did not, Marx indulged his taste for elegant clothes, the theater, entertainment, good wine and expensive cigars. He had a bawdy turn of humor which he unleashed on a few male companions, and a joyous sense of fun which he shared with his family. Even when times were bad, Marx maintained a warm cheerfulness in his home. This was his happiness.

With his wife, Jenny von Westphalen, Marx sustained a deep and loving relationship. They had met as children in Trier, romanced while at school, became secretly engaged

before he left for the University of Berlin, and were married in 1843. Jenny was four years older than Marx and both families strongly disapproved of the alliance; no relatives from either side, except the bride's mother, attended the wedding. The marriage lasted thirty-eight years until Jenny's death, a year before Marx's own demise.

Jenny, who came from an aristocratic Prussian background, made great sacrifices for the husband she adored. Her devotion to him was complete. She embraced his political causes, held the family together in the most desperate situations, shielded Marx from his creditors, often provided secretarial assistance and political advice, and cared for the family during their frequent illnesses. While Jenny was always jealous of other women and their possible attraction for Marx, she remained courageously supportive in moments of marital stress.

On the whole, Marx reciprocated this love. He was affectionate and caring, constantly writing to Jenny whenever he was away from home. Even after long years of marriage, some of his letters have a special tenderness. Occasionally, there were other women in his life,²³ but Marx always considered Jenny as his only love and treated her publicly and privately in this way. When she died of cancer in 1881, Engels said: "Marx is now also dead."

Of Marx's intimate relations with his wife we know little, although we can surmise more. His biographer, Saul Padover, comments: "Marx was a vigorous male, uninhibited in his sexual fervor, an ardency which the sensuous Jenny, despite frequent breakdowns of her health, clearly shared. . . . Despite Jenny's sufferings, Marx apparently continued to believe in the traditional masculine prerogative, regardless of the health of the woman involved. . . . They procreated as if children had no economic consequences."²⁴ Marx, writing to Engels, described himself as a "strong-loined paterfamilias. My marriage is more productive than my industry."²⁵ Within a year of marriage, in 1844, the first Marx child was born. Thereafter, Jenny Marx was pregnant almost every year until menopause. Seven children were actually born—only three survived into adulthood and two of them committed suicide. Although there

were times when Jenny, visiting her mother in Prussia, would write to Marx that she was afraid to return because they would have more children, it is clear that they shared a long and fulfilling personal intimacy. The only constraint on their sexuality appears to be economic.

Marx was particularly fond of children. He played with any child he met and, even at his poorest, he was always ready to help child beggars. He would frequently spend time telling stories to little children and he was deeply moved by any deprived or abused child whom he saw. This love was intensified towards his own children and grandchildren. An exemplary father, Marx was dearly loved by his family. To his daughter Eleanor he was "the cheerist, gayest soul that ever breathed . . . a man brimming over with humor and good humor, whose hearty laugh was infectious and irresistible . . . the kindliest, gentlest, most sympathetic of companions . . . never did children have a more delightful playfellow."²⁶

Of the seven children born into the Marx family, three died in infancy. A much-loved son, Edgar, died at the age of seven. The three surviving daughters, Jenny (or Jennychen—little Jenny), Laura and Eleanor, were the joy of his life. Marx took a particular interest in their education, exposing them to literature and a wide range of cultural activities at an early age. He read to them regularly and often discussed his political ideas with them. The three girls went to private schools and were given special lessons in music, singing and dancing—often at the cost of household necessities. They grew to be fluent in many European languages and, like their parents, radical in their political persuasion. In 1883, Jennychen died, at the early age of thirty-nine. Seven weeks later Marx, too, was dead. The other two daughters were both suicides, Laura in 1898 and Eleanor in 1911.

However, Marx would never know of these later tragedies. During all his years, the children were a constant pleasure, sustaining him in hardship and always devoted. There was remarkably little sibling rivalry among the sisters; they were always supportive and understanding of each other. These

relationships, with and among his wife and children, were perhaps the only permanent happiness and human successes in an otherwise frustrating and painful existence. They offer a marked contrast to other aspects of his life.

There was ample misery in Marx's life; perhaps one should write of it as a prolonged tragedy interspersed with occasional moments of hope. On a personal level these hardships were rooted in the two continuing problems of health and money. The Marx family suffered from shockingly bad health, some of it perhaps attributable to undernourishment for long periods. Marx, himself, was afflicted with a series of illnesses—liver problems, hemorrhoids, lung ailments, chronic and painful carbuncles, severe insomnia, pleurisy, muscular rheumatism and more. For many years his intensely painful carbuncles required taking regular doses of arsenic, then a popular medical treatment. As he grew older, many of these ailments got worse and some of them appear to have a psychosomatic character.

Other members of his family also had serious health problems. Two children died in infancy from pneumonia and bronchitis; his seven-year old son, Edgar, died of tuberculosis of the bowels. Jenny Marx, his wife, suffered long illnesses and eventually died of cancer in 1881 and his daughter, Jennychen, died of bladder cancer in 1883. This pitiful record of ill health, his own and that of his family, frequently made work impossible for weeks and months on end. To the physical discomfort was added the pain of knowing that poverty caused many of these afflictions and lack of money often prevented effective treatment.

POVERTY

Extreme poverty haunted Marx for decades. This terrible condition, in an ironic validation of his own materialist concept of history, directly affected his own thought and life. Most of the time, Marx had no steady income; writing was his only employment and the returns were irregular and meager. The

last thirty-four years (1849-83) of his life were lived in England, and it was only the generosity of Engels, occasionally supplemented by small gifts of money from relatives on the continent, which enabled him to survive. During much of this time, Marx was besieged by creditors and was deeply in debt. Often, he had to pawn many of his possessions, including his overcoat and clothes. Jenny Marx described their eviction for nonpayment of rent in the winter of 1850:

The bailiffs came into the house, requisitioned all my little possessions, beds, linen, clothing, everything including the cradle of my poor child, the better toys of the girls, who watched with hot tears in their eyes. In two hours, they threatened to take away everything—I lay down on the naked floor with the freezing children, with my sore breast.²⁷

From Manchester, where he lived from 1850 to 1870, the affluent Engels (then supervising his family textile mill) sent money almost weekly. A selection from Marx's letters to him, over many years, gives us some understanding of the problems which impoverishment imposed on the Marx family.

My wife is ill, Jennychen is ill, Lenchen (Demuth) has a sort of hysteria. I cannot and could not call the doctor because I have no money for medicine. . . . I postponed paying all creditors . . . now the storm has broken.

September 8, 1852

Despite the money you sent us and the pawning of things in the hockshop, we do not quite have the necessary sum.

September 26, 1856

I am very sorry for the time being I still have to press you [for money], because the arrears into which I fell are such that I had to pawn everything that is pawnable, and the gap in my income can be filled only when I find new sources.

March 24, 1857

The money pressure is now greater than usual, because for about three weeks now I have had to pay cash for everything and anything like credit has ceased, while at the same time of the money I earn, two-thirds has to go immediately to cover the floating

debt. Added to that, my income is very slight.

December 18, 1857

For three days I will sit on pins and needles until I know whether my promissory note is honored or not.

February 14, 1858

I beg you not to be alarmed by the content of this letter, since it is in no way an appeal to the already indecent claims on your purse. . . I am completely disabled to work; partly because I lose the best part of my time running around in vain attempts to raise money, and partly because my power of thinking no longer holds out, perhaps as a consequence of a further decline in health and the lamentations in the house . . . not a penny remains even for the most pressing daily expenses.

July 15, 1858

Interest on our best silver, watches, etc., is due in the pawnshop next Tuesday [April 19]. For three weeks now my wife has postponed the due date through private transactions with the pawn-broker, but Tuesday is the *ultimus terminus*. . . I am thus asking you to send over a few pounds.

April 16, 1859

With the last money you sent me, to which I have added another borrowed pound, I paid the school tuition . . . butcher and épicier [grocer] have forced me to give them promissory notes. . . Although I did not know how I could pay them, I could not refrain from doing it without having the whole house collapse over my head.

December 9, 1861

It is most loathsome on my part to regale you again with money, but *que faire* [what to do]? My wife says to me every day she wishes she and the children were dead, and I cannot really blame her, for the humiliations, harassments and terrors one experiences in this situation are in fact indescribable. . . My wife made a vain attempt to hock some of my books.

June 18, 1862

I must beg you to send me a trifle until Monday [November 17], as I need to buy coal and provisions, since the épicier [grocer] has cancelled my credit for the last three weeks.

November 14, 1862

I absolutely no longer know where my head is. My efforts to raise money in France and Germany have failed. . . I am pressed by the school, the rent, and the whole pack. . . The children have no dresses or shoes to go out.

January 8, 1863

I have had enough on my hands fending off the landlord and butcher through all kinds of humiliation and satisfying the broker with false promises. I could not send the children to school this quarter because the old bill has not been paid and, in addition, they were not in a presentable condition.

January 24, 1863²⁸

Engels never failed to respond to these insistent requests. When he could not send money directly, he guaranteed Marx's loans and generally paid them at a later date. Between 1850, when this subvention first began, and 1870, Engels sent Marx about £4,000, or an average of around £200 each year.²⁹

In the later 1860s, Marx's financial condition began to improve. His mother, in Trier, died and left him a legacy in December 1863. And in May 1864, a friend in Manchester bequeathed him some money. In total, Marx inherited about £1,550 a substantial amount of money in those days. The family was then able to move to better dwellings and relieve the worst debts.

Also, in 1864, as a result of family inheritance, Engels finances prospered greatly and he ws able to provide more assistance to Marx. Finally, in 1869, Engels sold his business in Manchester and the proceeds made him relatively wealthy. He immediately provided Marx with a permanent annuity of £350, then a quite considerable sum, and moved to London to be near his friend. Although Marx did continue to get additional gifts from Engels, and his daughters continued to draw on Engels' generosity long after Marx died, the annuity liberated Marx from decades of impoverishment. In the 1870s, some of his writings began to bring in more income. His children had now grown up and were able to earn their own living. All this did not make Marx rich, but it began to remove the terrors of absolute penury. When Marx died in 1883, he was financially less troubled than at any earlier time.

However, the grinding poverty of his best years left deep scars. Unable to live on the continent because of his political views, Marx was also unable to earn a regular living in England (partly because of language difficulties and his foreign origin, partly because of his political ideas, partly because his interest in research and writing did not encourage other employment, partly because of ill-health.) All around him, less talented men were making a more comfortable life. The apparent injustice of this situation and the nature of his own circumstances produced a bitterness which infused Marx's thought and work, and eventually impacted on his character. The young humanist, who once endorsed the early communist slogan "all men are brethren," became responsible for changing it to the war cry: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

DECEIT

A fourth theme of Marx's personal life was that of sustained deceit. This involved deliberate misrepresentations to his wife, his family and the world at large about an event which occurred within their home. Because the consequences of revelation would have been disastrous, it was an inevitable deception. This was the deadly secret of Karl Marx, so well guarded that only two others shared it. For the last thirty-four years of his life and for twelve years after, a total of forty-four years in all, the secret that Marx had hoped would die with those who knew of it was well concealed. Marx himself, at his death in 1883, must have been confident that the world would never hear of this terrible secret. Finally, in 1895, Engels, on his own deathbed, confessed. Yet, even today, the facts about this situation remain little known and their influence on Marx has hardly ever been evaluated.

The weight of this burden of silence and the fear of discovery must have tormented Marx. It was perhaps the most serious and least known of his many troubles—and it contained the seeds of his ruin. In addition, the pressures of moral guilt were also heavy. Marx prided himself on his truthfulness and

many who knew him well agreed that, whatever his other shortcomings, this was a basic characteristic. "No man could be more truthful than Marx—he was truthfulness incarnate. . . Marx was never a hypocrite. He was absolutely incapable of it, just like an unsophisticated child. . . He detested men who acted a part."³⁰ Now, he was forced into a long deception and into the abandonment of a child, both actions fundamentally revolting to his character. The tensions must have been intense. We cannot fully know how these tensions affected his ideas and his worldview, but their existence indicates that Marx's secret must have had a considerable impact on his work and thought.

IV

THE DEMUTH AFFAIR

AT THE HEART of the deadly secret of Karl Marx was Helen Demuth, who was known in the Marx family as Lenchen or Nim (Nym.) Helen was born on December 31, 1820¹ in the Saarland village of St. Wendel where her father, descended from German peasant stock, was a baker. Her parents being poor, the young child received no education and at the age of about ten was sent as a domestic servant to Trier, a town some forty miles north of St. Wendel. After some unpleasant early experiences there, she secured employment in the Westphalen home around 1833. The only surviving Wesphalen daughter, Jenny, was then nearly twenty and Helen soon developed a deep attachment to her—a relationship which was to endure for the next fifty years.

In 1843, when Jenny married Marx and left home, "the faithful, dear Lenchen" stayed on as a personal maid to the widowed Frau von Westphalen. Soon Marx's activities produced two major results: he was forced into political exile in Brussels and Jenny became pregnant. Jenny's mother, aware that her daughter had no help in managing her household, dispatched "the best present I can send." This somewhat feudal gift, then a girl of twenty-five, arrived in Brussels in April 1845. Helen immediately took over the Marx establishment. She was to be kept busy for a long time—cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing clothes, nursing and wet-nursing, and doing a variety of other tasks.

HELEN DEMUTH

Helen Demuth was apparently a woman of strong character and considerable competence. "Lenchen was a dictator, but Mrs. Marx was the mistress. And Marx submitted meekly as a lamb to that dictatorship."² Infrequently paid, Helen shared the poverty of the Marx family, refusing to return to Trier when Marx suggested that she should go because he could not afford her services. She became a friend to the family and a second mother to Marx's children, all of whom treated her with love and respect. An energetic worker, she was strong and cheerful. Marx's close friend and political associate, Wilhelm Liebknecht described how Marx "might storm and thunder ever so much, keeping everybody at a distance. Lenchen went into the lion's den, and if he growled she gave him such a severe lecture that the lion became as meek as a lamb."³ Observers of the Marx household have left other memories of Lenchen:

When I first saw Lenchen [in the late 1840s] she was twenty-seven years old. She was not a beauty but she was pretty and had a good figure and her features were pleasant and attractive. She had suitors enough and several times she could have made a good match. But although she had not undertaken any obligation, her devoted heart found it quite natural that she should stay by Marx, Mrs. Marx and the children.⁴

Helen loved the Marx family blindly: anything they did was good in her eyes and could not be otherwise; whoever criticized Marx had to deal with her. She extended her motherly protection to everyone who was admitted to intimacy with the Marxes. It was as though she had adopted all of the Marx family. . . . Mrs. Marx considered her as her bosom friend and Marx fostered a particular friendship towards her.⁵

The nice-looking old [in the early 1880s] German cook-house-keeper . . . was an excellent cook. She was a fresh-complexioned old woman, who wore gold earrings, and a chenille net over her hair, and who reserved to herself the right of speaking her mind even to the august doctor [Marx]. Her mind was respectfully, even meekly, received by all the family, except Eleanor, who frequently changed it.⁶

Although not formally educated, Helen was by no means illiterate. In addition to her native German, she could speak French and English, and read widely. Marx often expressed a high opinion of her capacities. "Under reasonable conditions of society she would have been invaluable to society as she was in a small way to us. She had a real genius for organizing and managing."⁷ She also often defeated him at chess. At her funeral, Engels declared that Marx took her advice on both his writings and on political matters. Engels, too, had considerable respect for Helen's views, which she was apparently not slow to express.

From these and other impressions, an image of a strong, warm and able woman emerges. For better or worse, Helen totally cast her fortunes with the Marx family. She never married and had no known interest outside Marx's circle of friends and acquaintances. Even her relationship with her own kin was subordinated to this commitment; she shared the Marx family exile and appears to have made only two short returns to St. Wendel in 1873 and 1888.⁸ Helen was so devoted that she induced a sister, Marianne, to come live and work for the family in England for a few years despite the very poor and irregular wages she would earn.⁹ Her attachment was accompanied by a fierce loyalty to each member of the family.

PREGNANCY

This was the woman who Marx made pregnant in late 1850. A reconstruction of dates indicates that conception took place around mid or late September—at a time when Jenny Marx was about three months pregnant with Marx's fifth child. The event must have taken place in the Marx home, because Helen, rarely, if ever, went out alone with Marx. Jenny Marx was herself in London throughout this period and, considering the dwelling conditions (two tiny rooms in which the family lived at 64 Dean Street in Soho), this suggests a certain agility and clandestine skills in both Marx and Helen.

By early 1851, Helen's pregnancy was evident. Marx then

had two options: either to admit paternity or to devise a scheme for concealing his role. Given Jenny's love for Marx, her somewhat puritanical morality, and her jealousy of other women who Marx might find attractive, admission was impossible. The consequences would have been drastic; probably divorce and public scandal. Jenny's health was poor and the impact on her would have been devastating. So, Marx and Helen concocted a deception—paternity had to be shifted to someone else.

It was not easy to find such a person. The putative father would have to be willing to play a role that was somewhat despised in Victorian England; he would need to know the real facts and be trusted to conceal them; and his pretended paternity would have to be credible to the other members of the Marx family. At the same time, the situation had to be managed in a way that would make Helen's continued association with the Marx family acceptable. There was only one suitable candidate—Marx's friend Fredrich Engels.

We do not know at what point Marx approached Engels, how he was persuaded, and how Marx, Helen and Engels prepared their conspiracy. On March 31, 1851 with Helen already close to six months pregnant and Jenny Marx having just given birth to another child, Marx wrote to Engels in Manchester: "Finally, to cap the climax in a tragicomic way, there comes a secret, which I shall reveal to you in a very few words. But just now I am being interrupted and called to my wife's sickbed. Hence this thing, in which you play a role, I will leave for next time."¹⁰ Two day later, on April 2, Marx again wrote: "In regard to the mystery, I will not write you about it, since cost what it may, I will in any case visit you at the end of April. I must get away from here."¹¹ He also spoke of the "very tangled family situation."¹² On April 17, Marx journeyed to Manchester and stayed there several days. We can only conjecture that it was on this visit that Engels agreed to undertake a false responsibility.

At that time, Marx was in desperate financial condition. In December 1850, with two pregnant women in the household, the family moved to a furnished three-room apartment at 28

Dean Street in Soho. On March 28, 1851 his fifth child (a daughter Franziska, who survived only one year) was born. "I literally don't have a farthing," Marx said to Engels.¹³ In these circumstances, only a serious urgency could have taken Marx to Manchester.

Engels' physical movements happened to fit Marx's planned scenario perfectly. The two had met in Bonn in November 1842, and again in Paris in August 1844 when they became good friends. Marx arrived in London in August 1849. Engels followed in November. Until late November 1850, Engels lived in London and was a very frequent visitor to the Marx residence. In theory, Engels could have had the opportunity to be with Helen Demuth at this time. Then, in November, 1850, Engels moved to Manchester, some 170 miles north, in order to enter his family business there. For the next twenty years he resided in Manchester, exchanging letters almost daily with Marx, before moving back to London in September 1870. It was with the knowledge that Engels would be safely out of the way for some years that Marx came to Manchester.

The trip was well worth the effort. Engels proved his loyalty. He was, as Marx said, "my most intimate friend. I have no secrets from him."¹⁴ On June 23, 1851 a son was born to Helen Demuth. The birth certificate, registered on August 1, gives the boy's name as Henry Frederick (apparently after Engels) Demuth, lists Helen as his mother, and leaves blank the name of the father. Jenny Marx was very disturbed. She wrote: "In the early summer of 1851 an event occurred that I do not wish to relate here in detail, although it greatly contributed to increase our worries, both personal and others."¹⁵

However, by this time, Jenny was persuaded that Engels was the parent. Although he was Marx's closest friend, she had never approved of his personal life—Engels lived with his mistress Mary Burns in Manchester—and so this action appeared to conform with her view of his character. Until her death, Jenny Marx always addressed him as "Herr Engels," in marked contrast to the affectionate salutations which other members of the family used.

The infant Frederick was given into foster care immediately after his birth. Little is known of his childhood and youth, except that his foster parents were named Lewis and lived in London. They were apparently working-class people and the young Freddy received only a limited education. Engels, generous as ever, sent occasional gifts to Helen which she presumably used to contribute to the upkeep of her son.¹⁶

KEEPING THE SECRET

The secret was well kept. Neither Marx nor his wife ever saw Freddy and he never visited the Marx home. The Marx girls did not know of Freddy's existence until they were adults, and then they assumed he was the offspring of Engels. Engels kept the secret to his deathbed in 1895, when he revealed it to Marx's younger surviving daughter Eleanor. Helen Demuth kept her silence—she never told her son or anyone else who the father was. One or two others, including Sam Moore, the Manchester lawyer who was co-translator of *Das Kapital* and close to both Engels and Marx, came to know at a later date. According to Freddy's grandson, Freddy himself never knew the identity of his real father.¹⁷

In late summer 1851 there were some rumors put about by Marx's enemies in London, that he had sired an illegitimate son. Writing to Joseph Weydemeyer on August 2, 1851, Marx said:

"You can imagine that my situation is very dark . . . Added to it are the infamies of my enemies, who have never yet dared attack me factually but are attempting to revenge themselves for their impotence by impugning my reputation and spreading the most unspeakable calumnies about me . . . My wife, who is ill is not helped when stupid scoundrelmongers bring her daily all the vaporings of the democratic cesspools. The tactlessness of some people in this regard is often colossal."¹⁸

Never, for a moment, did Marx admit the truth—he acted as if maligned and injured. And the strategy worked. Soon every-

thing was forgotten or dismissed as an unlikely story.

Several interesting questions arise from events surrounding the birth of Freddy Demuth. That Marx had a sexual relationship with Helen Demuth is, of course, evident. What is not known is when the affair began, how long it lasted and when it ended. Was it a single occurrence which produced Freddy, or was Marx the longtime lover of Helen? Did their clandestine association continue after Freddy was born? The answers are intriguing, but unknowable. Yet, there is little doubt that Helen was more loyal to Marx than to his wife, with whom her association had been much longer. And for thirty-two years after Freddy's birth, she lived with Marx and his family. While any observations are essentially speculative, we must wonder whether there was a continuing relationship—it would have been almost inhuman if there was not.

This line of conjecture suggests that Marx was a hot-blooded and vigorous individual, whose sickly wife did not fully satisfy his physical yearnings. Living with him, and caring for him, was a woman who had had no known relationship with any other man. Helen had borne his child and knew Marx intimately. She was then in the prime of life. Mrs. Marx and the children were occasionally away visiting relatives. For a man of Marx's unrestrained nature to have resisted further contact would have been somewhat out of the pattern of his general character. Perhaps this speculation is unfair to Marx. Yet, reflection on this possibility suggests that there were added pressures of concealment which would have unquestionably affected Marx's work and thought.

TREATMENT OF FREDDY

Whatever their relationships to each other, the three principals in the secret compact—Marx, Helen and Engels—did not treat Freddy very well. This is particularly difficult to understand because all of them, and especially Helen and Engels, were normally very warm, forthright, loyal and decent in their human relations. However, Freddy remained the

uninvited outsider, neglected and uncared for over many years. In contrast to this offhand behaviour was the thoughtful and caring way in which the two Marx daughters reacted when they came to know of and to know Freddy—both as Engels' unrecognized son and later as their own half-brother. It is much to Freddy's credit that he did not grow into an embittered adulthood.

Did this son have any particular significance for Karl Marx? We know that Marx was anxious to have male children. When a daughter was born in 1851, Marx informed Engels that "alas, my wife was delivered of a girl and not a boy."¹⁹ When another daughter was born in 1855, Marx commented that "had it been a male child, the whole thing would have been nicer."²⁰ In April of the same year, his only surviving legitimate son Edgar died at the age of eight. Marx was shattered. Not only was an adored child gone, he had no male progeny in his family—apparently a matter of much concern to Marx. Yet, his other son, then just four years old, was cast out and virtually abandoned.

Marx not only denied this son, he acted as if Freddy did not exist. There was little to prevent his adopting or absorbing the boy into his family, if he had wanted to. Financial considerations did not prevent Marx from adding legitimate children to the existing brood. We have seen his anxiety to have another boy, especially after the death of Edgar. We also know that Marx was inordinately fond of children and that he was a very loving father. In short, there was every reason for him to have found a way to bring Freddy into the family fold.

And yet, he did not. Perhaps it was Freddy's looks. The boy was dark and Semitic in appearance, quite unlike the blond and Teutonic Engels. Freddy, as one witness observed, "looks ridiculously like Marx, and it required really blind prejudice to detect in this authentic Jewish face with its blue-black hair any resemblance to the General [Engels]."²¹ The prospect of having an ever visible, living reminder of his transgression may have been too much for Marx to endure. Perhaps it was the very real love of his wife which restrained him from providing a home for Freddy—the fear of the truth

being revealed. "He did not love the boy, he did not dare do anything for him, the scandal would have been too great."²² Or perhaps it was the essentially bourgeois and conventional outlook of Marx. In any event, for the remaining three decades of his life, Marx had to live with the fear that his secret would be disclosed.

Helen Demuth, by all accounts a warm and caring woman, also showed little affection for the young Freddy. She, too, rarely saw him during Marx's lifetime and was content to leave his upbringing to strangers. The foster parents, a family named Lewis, were apparently not very kind to Freddy—a fact of which she could hardly have been unaware. It was only when Marx died in 1883, and she moved into Engels' house in Regents Park Road as his housekeeper, that her relationship with Freddy took on a maternal dimension.

During the remaining seven years of her life from 1883 to 1890, Helen Demuth saw her son frequently. Freddy generally visited his mother each week on Sundays, sometimes accompanied by his own small son, Harry.²³ Sunday was also the day on which Marx's daughter, Eleanor, habitually dined at Regents Park Road. A friendship grew between Freddy, whom she had not met earlier, and Eleanor. Freddy, an ordinary working man, always entered by the servants' backdoor entrance, never by the front door. His access to the guest areas was limited and he seems to have spent most of his time in his mother's quarters or the kitchen. His son recollects that they used to meet Helen "in a basement" and that they sat and ate only in the kitchen.²⁴ Engels never appeared during these meetings. Although Helen managed Engels' establishment, acted as his hostess and presided over the dinner table, she could not or would not move Freddy from the servants' rooms to the guest areas. Whether this treatment was due to Engels' known dislike of Freddy or because of her own inclinations we cannot say.

Helen's last years were happy ones. She was free of the financial stress of the earlier years and lived in some comfort. Engels treated her as an equal, showing her much consideration and respect. There were several other servants to

lighten her domestic chores—one of whom, an unmarried young girl, was instantly dismissed when it was discovered that she was six months pregnant!²⁵ Helen traveled frequently in England, and with Engels, and to France and Germany. Marx's two surviving daughters regarded her as a friend and as one "who has been a mother to us."²⁶ Her son and little grandson visited her often and, free of the taboos of the Marx household, she was able to see them regularly. On November 4, 1890, Helen died of "Cancer of the Bowell, perforative Peritonitis"²⁷ and was buried in the same grave as Marx and Jenny in Highgate Cemetery. She was seventy years of age. In her will, drawn on the last day of her life, she left all her belongings (valued at £95) to Frederick Lewis Demuth of 25 Gransden Avenue, London Lane, Hackney.

The behavior of Engels toward Freddy was consistently unpleasant. During Marx's lifetime, he provided occasional sums of money to Helen, presumably for the upkeep of her son. However, as far as is known, he did not see the boy and there is no mention of Freddy in any of his voluminous correspondence. After Marx's death in 1883 and Helen's move to his house, Freddy began to visit regularly. Although Engels preserved the secret and continued to appear as Freddy's father, Freddy was allowed only a demeaning backdoor access to Engels' residence. It seems that Engels himself hardly ever saw Freddy personally and there is evidence of his dislike and irritation with Freddy.

In December 1890, six week's after the death of Helen Demuth, Eleanor Marx wrote to her sister Laura:

Freddy has behaved admirably in all respects—and Engels irritation against him is as unfair as it is comprehensible. We should none of us like to meet our pasts, I guess, in flesh and blood. I know I always meet Freddy with a sense of guilt and of wrong done. The life of that man! To hear him tell of it all is a misery and a shame to me.²⁸

Again, in July 1892, Eleanor wrote: "I can't help feeling that Freddy has had great injustice all through his life. It is not wonderful when you come to look things squarely in the face,

how rarely we seem to practise all the fine things we preach—to others?"²⁹ It is evident that, at this time, Marx's daughters believed that Engels was Freddy's father and were unhappy at his lack of feeling. Engels' relationship with Freddy was quite unlike his usual behavior. He was usually most generous, fond of children, and very kind to the progeny of his old friends. For Helen, he had a special regard and affection—sentiments which clearly did not extend to her son. On her death, Engels did not consult Freddy about the burial, but decided with Marx's daughters to inter her in the Marx family grave. Freddy was present at the funeral, but was not given a particularly prominent place.

After Helen's death, Freddy's visits to Regents Park Road became infrequent, although the new housekeeper-companion Louise Freyberger "saw to it that he was accorded all the rights due to a guest."³⁰ There is only one occasion on which we have proof of his presence at the Engels home. On July 1, 1894 he was one of thirteen guests who signed a postcard from Engels residence to Natalie Liebknecht in Berlin. When Engels died in 1895, he left several bequests to children of his friends, but nothing at all to Freddy.

What motivated Engels' dislike and rejection of Freddy? Eleanor Marx thought it was a sign of guilt, but since Freddy was *not* his son this could not account for his reaction. Yvonne Kapp, the biographer of Eleanor Marx, discusses Engels' resentment:

It remains an insoluble mystery which only two conjectures, of little worth, can penetrate at all: it is just possible that he had harbored a deep-seated and lasting grievance at having had Freddy's paternity foisted upon him; a resentment unjustly visited upon the most innocent of all those involved; but who in such matters is perfectly rational or just? The other, perhaps more probable explanation, is the sense of guilt that Eleanor attributed to him, albeit for the wrong reasons. Precisely because of his generous nature, Engels may have felt to blame for Freddy's neglectful upbringing which ran counter to all his principles and instincts . . . What might not Freddy have become—Freddy with his earnest mind and love of learning—had he been granted [some] benefits? Even more: Helen Demuth's deprivation, she

of the motherly heart, robbed of her child, may have made Engels conscious of a wrongdoing to which he had acquiesced, if not contrived, and against this there could be no defense but to turn his back upon it and try to blot it out. Thus every reminder, particularly Freddy in the flesh, caused him that remorse which pricks to anger. Further than this speculation should not go.³¹

THE SECRET REVEALED

Until Helen Demuth's death in 1890, the secret of Freddy's paternity remained intact. In the five years between Helen's death and his own in 1895 Engels began to worry about his posthumous reputation—particularly as Freddy's father.³² Perhaps he would be accused, by those who thought he was responsible, of treating Freddy badly. So, on his deathbed, he summoned three close friends and confided the truth to them. Louise Freyberger (his housekeeper-companion after the death of Helen), Dr. Ludwig Freyberger (a Viennese physician, who married Louise, moved into the Engels household and was Engels' doctor), and Samuel Moore (1830-1912. A lawyer and old friend of Marx, who was co-translator of *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, into English).

This deathbed revelation took place sometime in early August 1895. Louise Freyberger describes how Engels, afflicted with cancer of the aesophagus and larynx, requested his three friends to use this information "only if he himself was ever accused of having treated Freddy shabbily; he said he did not want to have his name dishonored, particularly as it served no purpose. His intercession for Marx had saved the latter from a grave domestic conflict."³³ Sam Moore immediately decided that Eleanor Marx should also share this information. So, he journeyed to Orpington in Kent, where Eleanor lived, and told her.

Eleanor refused to believe Moore. She insisted that Engels lied. After all, he had always said that he was Freddy's father. Apparently, a short while earlier, Eleanor had asked Louise Freyberger to clarify the circumstances of Freddy's birth. Louise had then discussed this with Engels, who had ex-

pressed surprise that Eleanor still believed he was Freddy's father. However, he also told Louise to contradict any talk that Marx had concealed the birth of an illegitimate son. Now, faced with a different set of facts, Eleanor stuck to her conviction that Engels was the real father. She evidently felt that, in his last days, Engel was trying to shift the blame to Marx.

Moore rushed back to the deathbed and reported Eleanor's reaction. Engels, now considerably weakened, said: "She wants to make an idol of her father." On August 4, the day before Engels died, Eleanor came to see him. If there was truth in his assertion, Engels would have to state it directly to her. Engels was unable to speak, but he could write. On a slate, he disclosed his secret: Marx was Freddy's father. Eleanor was distraught. Rushing from the room, she clung to Louise Freyberger and cried bitterly.³⁴ She, who had castigated Engels for his indifference to Freddy and had revered her father for his kindness and truthfulness, now found that Marx was both responsible for Freddy and had conspired to conceal the truth.

Eleanor, at this time, had been living with Edward Aveling for almost eleven years. They had not married. It is hardly likely that her propriety would have been shaken by the knowledge of Marx's affair and its outcome. But, ever since she had come to know Freddy in the early 1880s, she had been deeply disturbed at the way in which he was treated. Her misery at knowing the truth was probably not due to the fact that Marx had sired an illegitimate son, but that he had been proven so unkind. How she revealed these facts to her sister Laura, who lived in France, is unknown; yet, she did. And the two Marx sisters, much to their credit, did thereafter try to help Freddy in their own ways.

Although it had now been revealed to his daughters and Engels' three friends, Marx's secret remained within the confines of this small group. In September 1898, some five months after the suicide of Eleanor Marx, Louise Freyberger wrote of the deathbed drama to her friend, the German Socialist leader August Bebel. This letter remained unknown until its accidental discovery in the 1950s. Although incorrect

in some details relating to earlier events of which Louise had no direct knowledge and reflecting her general disaffection for Eleanor Marx, the general credibility of this letter is beyond doubt. It is a major source of information on the last days of Engels and on details of Freddy's relationship to the Engels household.

The papers of both Marx and Engels were carefully sifted to eliminate any specific references to the Demuth affair. Marx died intestate on March 14, 1883. Verbally, he had appointed Eleanor and Engels as his executors. His belongings were valued at £295. In addition, there was a vast collection of documents. Engels assumed primary responsibility for the documents and spent the next year sorting and arranging papers in the Marx house at 41 Maitland Park Road. He was assisted by Helen Demuth. We can assume that they removed any evidence of Marx's relationship to Helen and Freddy, if indeed any existed. Eleanor, and his sister Laura, in turn, seem to have pruned the personal correspondence between Marx and his wife. They destroyed those few parts in which Marx criticized Engels, in order to spare Engels any hurt.³⁵

On the death of Engels a similar process took place. His papers were screened to remove any which would possibly reveal anything embarrassing to his family or friends. Parts of his correspondence with Marx were also destroyed, leaving some intriguing spaces in their extensive exchanges. Thus, there is a significant gap of about two weeks on either side of Freddy Demuth's birthdate in 1851—an unusual absence of communication at a critical time, a gap made all the more evident because of their almost daily letters to each other.³⁶

This careful protection and the limited number of people who knew of the Demuth affair assured a certain discretion. As the years passed and the old associates of Marx and Engels died, the secret remained largely unrevealed. Even today, a century after Marx's death, when almost every aspect of his life and thought has been researched and examined, the details of this shadowy corner are known to very few. And many of the more detailed facts will never be available. The old radical has hidden large parts of his secret from history.

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DEMUTH

FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, the lives of Marx and Engels are important. Great themes and movements, ideas and forces which affect the political world, have sprung from their activities. Any happening which shaped these activities has a special significance—the more intimate, personal and concealed the event, the more interesting and potentially meaningful it becomes. And so, the Demuth affair assumes its place in history.

From a human perspective, another dimension emerges. As larger themes and events move along their historical pathways they touch smaller human lives; sometimes leaving debris, sometimes dragging individuals along in their wake. While Marx attains a kind of immortality, a recognition expanding in time and extending beyond his age, what happened to the human fallout? In particular, whatever happened to Freddy Demuth—the walking timebomb ticking under Marx's historical reputation?

EARLY YEARS

As we have seen, Freddy was born on June 23, 1851. His birth was registered on August 1, and he was named Henry Frederick Demuth. No father's name was recorded. Almost

at birth, Freddy was given into the foster care of a working class family named Lewis in London. Mr. Lewis was a coachman by occupation and the family is known to have been poor. There is little information available on Freddy's early years. Apparently, some payments were made by Engels to the Lewis family for his upkeep, but the details are unknown. We can assume that these were not very large remittances because all of Engels' extra resources were being absorbed by Marx and, at times, this placed Engels in a tight financial condition. Neither Marx nor Engels had any contact with Freddy, although they knew where he was and were aware of his circumstances. There is also no evidence that his mother, Helen, was in regular touch with him at this time.

From his later letters, it is evident that Freddy was poorly educated and had little formal schooling. Sometime in his youth, he began to call himself Frederick Lewis Demuth, dropping the name Henry and adding the name of his foster parents. Many years after, Louise Freyberger thought that in his early period Freddy did not use the surname Demuth, but was known as Frederick Lewis.¹ These early days seem to have been unpleasant. Later on his son Harry, recalled that Freddy had a "rought childhood."² As soon as he was able to care for himself, Freddy left his foster home and never saw the Lewis family again.

We can reasonably assume that Freddy left the Lewis household some time between 1867 and 1870, when he was between sixteen and nineteen years of age. In the next decade or so, he worked as a laborer in London and served as an engineering apprentice. In 1873, at the age of twenty-two, Freddy married Ellen Murphy, the daughter of an Irish gardener. The wedding took place in the Church of St. George in Hanover Square. As was customary in those days, details of parentage had to be provided. Freddy gave his father's name as William Demuth, occupation: coachman.³ The union produced only one child, Harry born in 1882, and lasted for close to twenty years. In mid-1892, Ellen left Freddy. The marriage was never formally terminated, but Freddy and his son apparently had no further contact with Ellen.

For a long time, during the earlier part of these years, Freddy's existence was unknown to the Marx daughters. However, around the early 1880s they had come to know him—only as Helen Demuth's son by Engels. On May 17, 1882 there is a passing reference to Freddy in a letter from Jenny Longuet (Marx's eldest daughter) to her sister Laura: "You cannot imagine what it is to me to think that I still owe poor Freddy his money."⁴ It is not clear what money the Marx sisters were discussing, but it is evident that they knew Freddy and had some feeling of sympathy for him. Perhaps, after the death of Jenny (Mrs. Karl) Marx in December 1881, Freddy had become better known to the Marx daughters.

However, it is unlikely that much was seen of Freddy until after the death of Marx in 1883. When Helen Demuth moved to Engels' house in that year, Freddy began regular visits. He often took his young son with him, but for reasons that are obscure, it appears that his wife never accompanied them. It is not certain whether Helen ever met her daughter-in-law; it seems that she did not. Perhaps, Mrs. Freddy Demuth did not want to use the servants entrance as Freddy was required to do. Or perhaps, she and Freddy were not on the best of terms, as later events proved.

Between 1883 and Helen's death in 1890 Freddy visited her weekly. Because he was a working man (he had joined the King's Cross Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers as a skilled fitter in February 1888), his visits were invariably made on Sundays. At this time, Freddy was described as a man who was conscious of his neat appearance. He dyed his hair and mustache in order to appear younger than he really was. Unlike other laborers who generally wore cloth caps, he frequently wore a bowler hat and when going to work he carried his meals in a briefcase.⁵ In these years he became a good friend of Eleanor Marx, who also came to Engels' house on Sundays. He had got better acquainted with Laura, who lived in France and visited London occasionally. Although Eleanor Marx learned of Freddy's real parentage only on Engels' deathbed, it is possible that Laura may have suspected the truth earlier.

PAYMENTS TO FREDDY

We know that in February 1887, Laura discussed the question of financial assistance to Freddy with her brother-in-law Charles Longuet (who also lived in France and who was the husband of Jenny Marx, who had died in 1883).⁶ Freddy was then working as a skilled laborer and living in rather poor circumstances in the Hackney area of London. There is no reason, with both Helen and Engels alive at that time, why Laura should have felt any obligation to Freddy unless she felt some deeper moral responsibility. During the next ten years, at least until Eleanor's death in 1898, the heirs of Karl Marx—his two daughters and his widowed son-in-law Longuet—made some occasional and small secret payments to Freddy from the estate of Marx and, later on, from their share of the estate of Engels.

There is an element of mystery about these payments. They were concealed from both Engels and from Arthur Willson Crosse, the lawyer who administered the estates of both Marx and Engels. Eleanor, the only one of Marx's heirs who lived in England and who was by now a very close friend of Freddy, handled the arrangements. Thus, on July 26, 1892, she wrote to her sister Laura:

It is *very* good of you to have sent 50 francs for Freddy (I know *you* can't afford it!) though when Freddy asked me to see if Paul [Lafargue, the husband of Laura] could not bring pressure to bear on Longuet [Charles, their brother-in-law and widower of their sister Jenny], he never *meant* *you* should send anything. The facts are these: Freddy's wife some time ago ran away—taking with her not only most of Freddy's own things and money, but worst of all £24 placed in his keeping by his fellow-workmen. This money belongs to a small benefit fund of theirs—and on Saturday [July 30] he has to account for the money. You will understand now why this is such a bad business. Freddy wrote and I wrote again and again to Longuet. But he does not even answer the letters, and so Freddy begged of me to try if Paul could not in some way put the matter before the trustees. Of course I have not told all *these* facts to Longuet, as Freddy does not want anyone to know—particularly not Engels. I think we shall pull through

though, because Edward [Aveling, Eleanor's common-law husband] hopes to get something for a little operetta today or tomorrow, and with what Freddy has it will be all right.⁷

Four interesting facts emerge from this letter. First, Freddy's financial condition is very poor and he does not appear to have any significant savings or resources other than his earnings. Second, he has been abandoned by his wife. Third, he especially does not want Engels to become aware of his problems—why we do not know. Since Engels was normally very generous to those in trouble, we can infer that Freddy's relationship with Engels is not good and he wants to keep his personal affairs from Engels. Fourth, Freddy and the Marx heirs feel that he has some claim on the Marx estate. As his true paternity was still unknown to the Marx family and also unknown to Freddy himself, it is not clear why all of them feel he has this claim and why Paul Lafargue is expected to bring pressure on Longuet to approve payments to him. It seems that at some earlier point, the Marx heirs had agreed among themselves that Freddy was entitled to some small interest in Marx's estate and informed him of this benefit.

This impression is confirmed in later correspondence between Eleanor and Laura. On December 10, 1895, Eleanor writes: "As to Freddy I really am not sure of the sum due to him, but will get it at once. I think it was about £30. This sum also must be paid by your and Paul's and my consent through Crosse."⁸ By now, of course, Freddy's real paternity is known, having been revealed to Eleanor on August 4, but this letter refers to money from Marx's estate on which Freddy had no legal claim. Yet, payments had been made to him from time to time from this estate.

On Engels' death in August 1895, the bulk of his estate was left to the two surviving Marx sisters and to a trust for the children of their deceased sister Jenny Longuet.⁹ Nothing was left to Freddy. Once again, Eleanor, Laura and Charles Longuet were involved in making some of this money secretly available to Freddy. On January 14, 1896 Eleanor wrote to

Laura: "Crosse has asked me to give him a statement as to this debt and its repayment to keep along with the other papers referring to the children. As soon as I get Freddy's receipt I will do so. Of course I shall simply say loan to Longuet, such and such a date, etc."¹⁰ In short, Marx's heirs, now having become Engels' heirs, were providing another small hidden subsidy to Freddy from Engels' estate and concealing it from even their attorney Crosse. They had evidently agreed among themselves to record these payments as loans to Charles Longuet. By then, Freddy's true paternity was known to them and there was not even a moral obligation to make payments from Engels' estate.

From all of these transactions and the attempts to hide them from both Engels and their lawyer Crosse, it is clear that Marx's heirs felt they owed Freddy some smaller share of any legacies they received from both Marx and Engels. Since both Marx and Engels had explicitly rejected any legacy for Freddy, we have to assume that the heirs had special reasons for doing this—and also for concealing their generosity. Was it a feeling of fraternity for Freddy? But then, Laura and Longuet, who lived in France, hardly knew him at this time. Was it a sense of obligation to the son of their beloved servant Helen? But then, concealment was not necessary. Or was it that one or more of the heirs (certainly not Eleanor until August 1895) suspected the truth and convinced the others that they had some moral commitment to a poorly placed Freddy? Another unanswered question is why Freddy himself, unaware of the true facts and openly rejected by Engels, should feel he was entitled to monies from these sources.

In any event, these payments helped Freddy in very difficult days. Sometime in mid-1892, his wife left him to live with a soldier and took all of his money and possessions with her.¹¹ He was left to bring up his young son alone. This he did with singular good grace. His son, Harry Demuth, recalls how they lived by themselves—a somewhat lonely and neglected life.

There were just the two of us. Of an evening we used to sit on

either side of the table with an oil lamp and read to each other—Shakespeare it was—and I helped him with his pronunciation. He couldn't pronounce all the words as well as I could. [His father Freddy] was the best, none better. He hadn't had much schooling but he taught himself everything. Wonderful what he knew.¹²

After Helen Demuth's death in 1890, Freddy's weekly visits to Engels' home stopped. He did, however go there infrequently, but never took his son with him. Louise Freyberger, Engels' new housekeeper, insisted that he come as a guest using the regular visitors entrance and on at least one occasion he was present at a gathering of several friends at Engels' home.¹³ However, because of Engels' dislike for him, these visits were probably nothing more than mere occasional formalities—with Freddy believing that Engels was his father who did not want to acknowledge paternity and Engels keeping up this hated pretense.

FRIENDSHIP WITH ELEANOR MARX

At this time, Freddy's relationship with Eleanor Marx had grown to the point where he had become her most trusted friend. He often went to her home in Kent, sometimes taking his young son with him. After Eleanor moved closer to London in December 1895, Freddy was a regular visitor to the new house—The Den, 7 Jew's Walk, Sydenham in the suburban borough of Lewisham. The last three years of Eleanor's life, before she took poison on March 31, 1898, were deeply troubled. On Engels' death in 1895, she had become financially independent, but her emotional relationship with Edward Aveling took a drastic turn. Aveling, in debt and in ill health, had never treated Eleanor particularly well. Now things got worse.

In her desperation, Eleanor turned to Freddy. He was the only person in whom she confided and her letters to him are both sad and revealing of their closeness. Thus, in August 1897, when Aveling left her temporarily, she wrote:

How can I thank you for all your goodness and kindness to me?
But, indeed, I do thank you from the bottom of my heart.

August 30, 1897

He [Edward Aveling] has so far made no apology and offered no explanation . . . Meantime I said you *might* be down, and if you can come tomorrow or any evening this week, I trust you will. It is right that he should have to face you in my presence, and me in yours. So, if you can, come tomorrow—if not, let me know when you can come. Dear Freddy, how can I ever thank you! I am *very* grateful.

September 1, 1897

Come, if you possibly can, this evening. It is a shame to trouble you; but I am so alone, and I am face to face with a most horrible position . . . And I want someone to consult with . . . So, dear, dear Freddy, come. I am heartbroken.

September 2, 1898¹⁴

Sometime in early January 1898, Freddy had written to Eleanor apparently complaining at the sad fate that both she and he shared. Eleanor's poignant reply shows her distress.

The Den, 13th January, 1898

My dearest Freddy,
We were so sorry not to see you, and doubly so thinking you were ill. Yes—I sometimes feel like you, Freddy, that *nothing* ever goes well with us. I mean you and me. Of course, poor Jenny had her full share of sorrow and of trouble, and Laura lost her children. But Jenny was fortunate enough to die, and sad as that was for her children, there are times when I think it fortunate. I would not have wished Jenny to have lived through what I have done. I don't think you and I have been very wicked people—and yet, dear Freddy, it does seem as if we get all the punishment. When can you come? *Not this* Sunday, but next? Or during the week? I *do* want to see you. Edward is better, but very, very weak.

Your Tussy.¹⁵

As her relationship with Aveling deteriorated, Freddy became her only support. In writing about her situation, Eleanor often makes endearing remarks to Freddy:

Dear Freddy you are the *only* friend I can be quite frank with, and so I do love to see you. . . . I feel I am a brute to trouble you, but, dear Freddy, you *know* the situation; and I say to you

what I would not say to anyone now. I would have told my dear old Nymmy [Helen Demuth], but as I have not her, I have only you. So forgive my being selfish, and *do* come if you can. . . . Dear Freddy, you have your boy—I have nothing; and I see nothing worth living for.

February 3, 1898

Dear Freddy, I know how kindly your feeling to me is, and how truly you care for me. Dear, dear Freddy, don't think I have forgotten what Edward [Aveling] owes you (I mean in money; in loving-kindness it is beyond calculation), and you will, of course, get what is owing to you.

February 5, 1898

Dear Freddy, do not blame me [for continuing the relationship with Aveling]. But I think you will not. You are so good and so true.

February 20, 1898

I can't tell you how glad it makes me that *you* do not blame me too much, because I think you one of the grandest and best men I have ever known . . . how I wish I could see you.

March 1, 1898¹⁶

One month later, Eleanor was dead. Her funeral took place on April 5, 1898. Almost certainly, among the large gathering must have been her half-brother Freddy. Knowing her feelings for him, we can only wonder why she did not even mention him in her will.¹⁷ Perhaps this was one more disappointment for poor Freddy.

Freddy, who had by now become a toolmaker, continued to stay in touch with Eleanor's friends and relatives. In the early 1900s, he appears to have visited Paris and met with Laura, who is reported to have introduced him to the German communist Clara Zetkin as "my half-brother."¹⁸ Freddy was now a grandfather—his son Harry was married and had several children. With them, Freddy enjoyed a warm relationship and there are two recorded instances of his efforts to help them.

FREDDY'S LATER YEARS

On October 10, 1910, Freddy, then living in Upper Clapton in Northeast London, wrote to Laura in France. The letter,

written in the hand of a poorly educated workman, tells us something of Freddy's life and personality.

My dear Laura. It is such a long time since I heard from you that I am again taking the liberty of writing to you which I should have done sooner, but I so much wanted to write you more hopeful news of myself and my Son and his family, and I am pleased to say that I am able to do so for myself you will be glad to know that I am well in Health.

Freddy goes on to say that he is now fortunately employed and that he was "much more pleasanter located in lodgings" than he had been for a long time. He was living with a friendly fellow-worker and his wife who had known him for many years and were very kind. Freddy is concerned about his son, who was then working long hours with a French taxicab company in London—8:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m., six nights a week, for a weekly wage of twenty-two shillings. He then expressed sentiments of which his father would have approved. "Harry's wife and little ones are well although I am sorry to say there has been another little girl born. To me it seems very sad, seeing that they have had so much trouble in their young lives; to bring more children into the world appears to one only short of a crime. But I suppose it will go on till the time comes when the Birth of Children will be Hailed with joy instead of sadness."

Toward the end of the letter Freddy asks Laura whether she could help him in a small matter. He had read in a newspaper that there was an engineering firm named Demuth Brothers in Austria. Could Laura tell him whether these Demuths were connected to his mother and if "they might have a place in England and through them I might be able to get my son a better and more remunerative employment." He apologizes to Laura for troubling her with "so much Personality," but he knows that she would try to help because "You will realize that he and his are the only Beings I have in the world who I can call mine and although I do not see them very often it gives me great Pleasure to help in any way I can do." The letter is signed "Dear Laura affectionately yours, F.

Demuth.”¹⁹

The next year, Laura, too, took her own life. Shortly after, in 1912, Freddy’s son Harry left for Australia hoping to find some worthwhile work there. His wife and four small children remained in London, in Freddy’s care. It was planned that, if Harry succeeded, all of them, including Freddy who was then over sixty, would emigrate to Australia. In August 1912, Freddy wrote to the German Socialist leader Eduard Bernstein, thanking him for some kindness to Harry and commenting on Harry’s Australian venture.

The one great consolation I have is in knowing that they [Harry’s family] will not be materially worse off than when he was at home. I am very thankful that I am able to see after them . . . at any rate I feel I have done the right thing in sending him to the place he had set his mind on going to, and if things do not turn out as well for him and his family that we all hope for I do not think he can blame me as I have done everything for him that laid in my power.²⁰

Harry did not prosper and soon returned to England, where he lived the rest of his life with his wife and eight children. Harry eventually also became a toolmaker and died in January 1980 at the age of ninety-seven.

Not too much is known of Freddy’s last years. When World War I broke out, in 1914, he was sixty-three and too old to be drafted. He continued work as a toolmaker until he was seventy-three, retiring in 1924. As a member of the Hackney Branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union he drew a small pension of nine shillings a week for the remaining years of his life.²¹ Lonely through much of his life, Freddy’s last years were warmed by his close relationship with his son and grandchildren. Freddy’s grandson, Harry J. Demuth, remembers him as a quiet and somewhat reserved man, who had a deep interest in socialist politics in the 1920s and became one of the founders of the Hackney branch of the Labor Party. He recalls that his grandfather was well informed and apparently well-read. In the last years, Freddy visited his son and grandchildren regularly taking the Number 42 bus from Hack-

ney to get to their house.²² Until his death in 1929, the whole family led by Freddy went every two weeks to the local pub for drinks, a kind of social ritual which they all enjoyed.

Also in these years, around the early 1920s, Freddy found companionship in the person of a Mrs. Laura Payne, the widow of a close friend. They lived together at his last home in North Hackney and she was present when he died of heart failure on January 28, 1929 at the age of seventy-eight. Mrs. Payne received £12 as funeral benefits from Freddy's union and inherited one-quarter of his estate.²³

We are left with three minor mysteries in the wake of Freddy's death. His death certificate, registered in London and on display in the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier, and all his union records give his age as seventy-six. Why Freddy believed he was born in 1853, *not* 1851 is difficult to explain. It may well be that, in his childhood, a small deception had been made to fit his age into the sibling pattern of his foster home. It also shows that nobody had discussed the circumstances and time of his birth with him.

It is also strange that in his own last will, signed on July 26, 1926, Freddy bequeaths all his personal effects and three-quarters of his estate to "Mr. Harry Demuth my nephew known as my son." His affection for Harry being so great, it is a peculiar disavowal of paternity. Did he have some lingering doubts that Harry, the son of his troublesome wife, was not fathered by him? Or did he, fearing some subsequent publicity about his own illegitimate origins, not want to pass on the stigma of his origins to his son? The answer is unknowable, but intriguing.

The size of Freddy's estate raises a further question. As the record indicates, he never was in affluent circumstances. In the last years of life, his only known income was nine shillings a week. Yet, his estate was probated at £1,972.²⁴ In 1929, this was a sizeable amount for a retired worker to have accumulated. At the time of his letter to Laura in 1910 he obviously had very limited resources. Was there some unknown money that Freddy had received in the last decade or two of his life? These and the other secrets of his sad story rest with Freddy,

the last surviving child of Karl Marx.

From this sparse information we can get a glimpse of Freddy's personality. For most of his life, he was lonely and neglected, and then abandoned by his wife. Yet, this rejection did not have an embittering impact on him. Freddy was a kindly and gentle man, unassuming and quiet. Loyalty, humility and a capacity for friendship define his character. A great and patient support to Eleanor Marx in her troubled last days, Freddy was a loving father who took great pains to care for and educate his son as best he could. Despite his lack of formal education, he had a great love of learning and tried to improve himself by reading.

Freddy's descendants believe that he was unaware that he was Marx's son and that those who knew the truth did not inform Freddy. Both his son and grandson think that, all his life, Freddy believed he was the unacknowledged son of Engels.²⁵ Freddy's paternity was not much discussed by him, but whenever the topic arose Freddy maintained to his son and grandchildren that he was adopted as a child by the Lewis family.²⁶ However, the haunting question of his illegitimacy does not seem to have caused any visible signs of instability. Brought up in a working class home, he never sought to improve his social status and seems lacking in any ambition beyond reaching for a modest advancement in his financial condition. His essential goodness of nature and reliability of temperament make Freddy Demuth unquestionably the most stable child of Karl Marx.

In the large panorama of events, Freddy Demuth is a small footnote. However, his very presence adds a human dimension to the seminal megafigures of Marxism, exposing unknown elements in the characters of Marx and Engels. While we can only speculate at the impact of his being on the ideas of Marx and Engels, we know that his existence was a matter of considerable concern to them. In his own way, not least by the dignity of his forbearance, Frederick Demuth has his little place in history.

VI

ENDINGS

HISTORY WINDS DOWN when its central participants begin to leave the stage. In the fourteen years between 1881 and 1895, the major figures in the Demuth drama were all dead. Jenny Marx, the rather puritanical wife whose attitudes and health required the concealment of Freddy's real parentage, was the first to go in 1881. Her daughter Jennychen followed in 1883. Nine weeks later Marx passed on, pretending to the end that he was only a spectator in the Demuth affair. Seven years after, Helen Demuth, having made a kind of peace with her son and perhaps with herself, died. Friedrich Engels, resentfully revealing his secret on his deathbed, succumbed to cancer in 1895.

Others who were as deeply affected, in a secondary way, lived on. Eleanor Marx was the youngest of the three surviving Marx children. She was the only one to be born, live and die in England. In her own right, Eleanor became a well-known public figure. She was a forceful speaker, supported socialist causes and lectured all over the country. Although not financially comfortable until the death of Engels, Eleanor was generous and giving by nature. In her early years she was a teacher and later worked in the British Museum doing research and translations for small wages.

During the last fourteen years of her life she lived with and often supported Edward Aveling, a socialist writer of unpleasant character. Aveling was a man of education and culture and had a wife from whom he was separated, but not divorced. This common law union of Eleanor and Aveling was full of unhappiness. The wayward Aveling often drifted off with other

women and did not return Eleanor's intense affection. He borrowed money from her friends and was generally petulant in disposition. Eventually, in 1897, while living with Eleanor, he secretly and bigamously married another woman. In their last year together he even threatened to expose the whole Demuth affair, if Eleanor did not give him money.

In a way, Eleanor was herself the tragic heroine of a Victorian melodrama. Generous and loyal to a fault, she died, as romantic heroines must, by her own hand. Betrayed and humiliated by the man she loved, she also suffered terribly from the revelation that Marx was Freddy Demuth's father. Her adored parent, so much loved and admired above all for his kindness to children, did not have the decency to accept Freddy and participated in a cruel conspiracy to hide him away. The last three years of her life were tormented with this knowledge of the other side of Marx's personality.

All this was too much for Eleanor. On March 31, 1898 she took poison. She was forty-three and had only just become financially independent, but the emotional stress was beyond her capacity to endure. It was a pathetic end to a vigorous and talented life. Aveling himself, publicly attacked for having caused Eleanor's death, survived her by only four months. In August 1898, at the age of forty-nine, he died of malignancy in the kidneys.

Laura Lafargue, Marx's last living daughter, had married the French socialist politician and journalist Paul Lafargue in 1868. They lived in France until 1872, then in England for a ten-year period, and thereafter in France for the rest of their lives. Lafargue was originally a medical doctor, but was more interested in politics. Laura and he had three children, all of whom died at a very early age. By 1872, they were childless and remained so. Lafargue engaged in a number of employments, none very successfully. He was a political activist often supporting radical causes and writing on their behalf.

Engels was a principal source of money for the Lafargues, sending them regular remittances until he died, then bestowing a legacy on them. For a short time in the early 1890s, Lafargue was a socialist member of the French Chamber of

Deputies representing Lille. After Engels' death and the receipt of his legacy to Laura, the Lafargues bought a large house in Draveil, twenty-five kilometers from Paris. They were once visited there by the exiled Lenin and his wife Krupskaya. On November 26, 1911, the Lafargue's killed themselves by injecting cyanide into their veins.

The Lafargues had lived well, too well, and run out of money. Rather than be a burden to others, they decided to end it all. Laura was then sixty-six years old and Lafargue was sixty-nine. They had been married for forty-three years. Their deaths shocked France and the French Socialist Party, of which they were prominent members, organized a large funeral. One of the funeral orations was given by Lenin, speaking for the Russian Social Democratic Party.

Charles Longuet, who had married Jenny (Jennychen) Marx in 1872, lived with his wife in London for nine years. They then moved to France. Longuet was a Frenchman and edited the radical newspaper *La Justice*. He was also elected a member of the Paris Municipal Council. Jennychen gave birth to six children, of whom four survived into adulthood, before she died at the age of thirty-nine in 1883. Longuet lived another twenty years. He did not remarry, raised his children and lived in Argenteuil in the suburbs of Paris. As a trustee of the Marx estate and of his children's legacy from Engels, Longuet figures occasionally in the Marx family correspondence. Both his sisters-in-law express a certain exasperation at his neglect of correspondence, although he seems quite vigorous in asserting his children's rights to any financial claims.

The Freybergers, who had lived with Engels in his last years, were quick to disassociate themselves from the Marx family after Engels' death. Louise continued to reside in Engels' house at 41 Regents Park Road until 1905. Freyberger died at the age of sixty-nine in 1934. Louise lived on until 1950. She was ninety at the time of her death—the last of those who had some close personal contact with Engels. It is to her correspondence with the German socialist leader August Bebel in 1898 that we owe much of our information about Freddy Demuth's relationship to the Engels' household. In-

terestingly, after Engels' death, Louise never saw Freddy Demuth again.

The Demuth descendants consisted of Freddy's son Harry and his eight children. Harry died in January 1980, two months short of his ninety-eighth birthday. Five of his children, Marx's last surviving great grandchildren, are alive today. Most of them, well advanced into their sixties and older, live in London. In more recent years, probably well after the death of Freddy in 1929, they came to know the true identity of their grandfather. One grandson, Harry J. Demuth told me that their ancestry was not much discussed with their father when they were growing up. Today, however, they are proud to acknowledge Karl Marx as their greatgrandfather. Marx's legitimate grandchildren, the Longuets and their line, grew into a middle or upper middle class station in life. The Demuth grandchildren appear to have stayed with their proletarian antecedents, Harry J. Demuth describing them as "working class people."¹

Sam Moore, one of the three close associates to whom Engels confided his secret, died in 1912. Friend of Marx and Engels, he was an executor of Engels' will and helped to resolve disputes between Louise Freyberger and Eleanor Marx. A lawyer with an interest in radical causes, Moore has his own niche in socialist history as the translator of the *Communist Manifesto* and co-translator of *Das Kapital* (Vol. I) into English. Moore, who was responsible for bringing Eleanor Marx to Engels' deathbed, kept his counsel about the Demuth secret to his own death.

And so, the curtain falls on several participants, large and small, in the Demuth affair. Sooner or later, all of them became aware of the deadly secret of which Marx wanted nobody to know. It is this bond of information that unites them in history.

VII

NECESSITY OR HYPOCRISY?

THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES in the ways in which the world at large perceives the lives of important men and women. The personal behavior and character of the great men of science is largely a matter of public indifference. Isaac Newton, perhaps the most celebrated scientist in history and the father of modern physics, spent almost three decades in a desperate and secret quest for weird occult influences and in concocting mysterious elixirs to give him magical powers over nature.¹ These fantastic ambitions, which would have been rightly condemned as unbalanced in other individuals, have no bearing on Newton's scientific stature. It is of little consequence that Albert Einstein was an unloving, if not cruel father. Scientific discovery and achievement is evaluated by its disciplinary contribution, not by the behavior of the achiever.

A similar, and often a much more tolerant attitude, characterizes the modern perception of the arts and artists. The profligacy of Picasso, the homosexuality of Somerset Maugham, and the drug addiction of Edith Piaf does not detract from the merit of their work or the public honor accorded to them. Indeed, looking backward, we feel a sense of injustice at the way in which contemporary society treated Oscar Wilde and a sense of sympathy for the narcotic compulsions of Edgar Allan Poe. When Laurence Olivier writes, in graphic detail, of assaulting his wife, we do not think of him as a violent wife-beater.² We do not boycott his performances, and we certainly do not question his competence on stage and screen. We now realize that the first Bing Crosby family, idealized as the

wholesome American household for many decades, in fact consisted of a somewhat sadistic childbeating father, a periodically alcoholic mother and deeply unhappy children. These disclosures do not reduce the popularity or professional esteem of Bing Crosby.³

Yet, a very different attitude infuses the general public evaluation of those who manage modern society or those who tell us how to reform society and ourselves. A higher standard of personal rectitude, a behavioral morality, is expected from eminent preachers, teachers, politicians, social critics and advocates of social change. There is an implicit assumption that the right to such position must be based on exemplary personal behavior. The message and the life of the messenger are inextricably linked.

It is in this context of beliefs and believability, character and concepts, that we must examine the central question concerning Karl Marx. What was the impact of Marx's deadly secret on his ideas? Was his work a product of historical necessity or a byproduct of his personal hypocrisy? If his life was false can his work be true? This issue is also an essential part of the underlying theme of this book—the relationship between the inner man, his ideas, and their public expressions and acceptance. To reflect further on this, we have to consider some of the circumstances and contradictions in the life of Marx, discuss the tensions and fears they could have evoked in him, and then attempt a few broad speculations.

CIRCUMSTANCE AND CONTRADICTIONS

The Demuths, mother and son, are at the core of this analysis. Freddy Demuth was born in 1851, at an early point in Marx's intellectual development. Marx was then thirty-three and most of his major work was yet to be undertaken. If the existence of Freddy did have an impact on Marx this would have been felt during his most productive years.

The birth of Freddy coincided with Marx's worst period of poverty. From 1849 through the early 1860s, his financial

situation was almost permanently desperate. At times, Marx was virtually a respectable beggar. He was both an intellectual maintaining a traditional family life and a pauper living on the charity of Engels and a few others. Insistent creditors were a constant presence.

Another continuing situation probably added to these problems. In his early thirties, Marx had found Helen Demuth attractive enough to take as a sexual partner—Freddy being the unintended consequence. Marx and Helen then shared the secret of their son for thirty years. They obviously had a special intimacy and Helen's loyalty, devotion and ability to handle Marx's moods was evident. As far as is known, Helen had no other close male associates. Marx, himself, was sexually vigorous and had several romantic episodes outside his marriage. Given these circumstances, and the occasional absences and illnesses of Mrs. Marx, it seems probable that this in-house affair continued long beyond the birth of Freddy. If this speculation is correct, as is humanly likely, maintaining this relationship would also have required concealing it from an unsuspecting wife and growing children.

The existence of Freddy, poverty, and the probable continuing relationship with Helen Demuth—these three overlapping situations created several extraordinary contradictions in Marx's life. His fondness for all children was a character trait recognized even by his enemies. There are many examples of Marx's compassion for the difficulties of children and his willingness, however bad his own finances, to help them. Yet, there is no evidence that Marx wanted to make any contribution to the cost of young Freddy Demuth's upkeep. Given his personality, it is possible that he may have wished to do this. If so, it would have been impossible. Substitution of financial compensation for his emotional inability to care for Freddy was beyond his reach. Having imposed upon himself an uncharacteristic distance from the little boy, Marx could not provide for him from afar. Personality, inclination and poverty suggest the ingredients of a frustrating and embittering experience.

A second major contradiction is one not unknown in other

social and political critics. At different times, and sometimes at the same time, Marx sought to make good in the world existing around him and also to destroy that world. His life-style indicated a yearning for bourgeois respectability. The upbringing of the Marx children was most proper. Their father was deeply concerned that their economic security be obtained in the most conventional ways—through respectable employments in the establishment and through financially stable marriages.⁴ However, his political position as a revolutionary communist was radically anti-establishment. These contradictory impulses would surely have generated tensions within the inner world of most thoughtful men.

The Demuth affair would have had similar impacts. In the *Communist Manifesto*, in 1848, Marx had fiercely proclaimed the need to abolish the family. He had ridiculed bourgeois morality.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives. Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common. . .⁵

Historically, the bourgeoisie gives the family the character of the bourgeois family, wherein boredom and money are the binding links, and to which also belongs the bourgeois dissolution of the family, which does not prevent it from constantly continuing its existence. Its dirty existence corresponds to the holy concept of it in official phraseology and universal hypocrisy.⁶

For the next thirty years, Marx unhesitatingly championed these positions. However, shortly after these condemnations, he had entered into the Demuth affair. Thereafter, for the rest of his life, Marx sought desperately to preserve the Demuth secret in order to protect his own very bourgeois and precious family life and his treasured intellectual reputation in the eyes of conventional society.

Another element of paradox lies in Marx's approach to his poverty. It was painful and tormenting. It was also, to an extent, self-inflicted. Marx was resentful at his dependency,

but he often used petty ruses and mild deceptions to continue borrowing from Engels and others. While securing regular employment would have been difficult for a foreigner with a limited command of English, in London, it was not impossible. To do this, however, would have sacrificed his research and writings—and perhaps would not have made a major impact on his impoverishment. Yet, this situation must have had psychologically disturbing consequences.

TENSIONS, FEARS AND RESULTS

The circumstances and contradictions of Marx's life, burdens that were at their worst during his prime years, are likely to have created profound psychological pressures and provoked deep fears. While the pressures may well have contributed to his ill health, the fears probably haunted his daily life. In this context, Marx or any other individual would have had difficulties in preventing the intrusion of inner emotions on his work, particularly as this work involved analysis of social problems and conditions.

What discernable impact did these emotions, tensions and experiences have on Marx's work? Any answer is, of course, speculative; but, there are some suggestive elements with which we can conjecture. As he grew older, two features of Marx's work became specially noticeable, features which contrast quite sharply with the approaches and ideas of the younger Marx. While we cannot totally attribute these developments to the tensions which beset him in these years, it is reasonable to conclude that these pressures had their influence on his intellectual and emotional evolution, and on his world view.

The first feature which marks and separates the older Marx from the younger Marx is a more impatient and drastic approach toward social problems. Over a period of thirty years, the humanistic and reformist element becomes submerged by radical and harsh overtones—a perceptible hardening of his ideas.

There are three possible, and not necessarily exclusive, explanations for this rising intensity. Perhaps it was a conscious response to the conditions of the time, based upon rational analysis of the enduring forces of conservatism and the harshness of life around Marx. It may also have originated in an unconscious anger at the delay in the social, economic and political transformations that Marx had predicted. There is a third and more internalized explanation: the collective emotional impact of his inner feelings, his personal tensions, had a corrosive impact on his later thinking. Even if we believe that there is no single explanation, and that all these three reasons have some validity, the importance of inner tensions in the evolution of his ideas is still apparent. Would a satisfied and prosperous Marx have been a less radical thinker? Yes, if one believes that his ideas were affected by material circumstances alone. No, if one believes that the inner pulsations affected the man and his ideas.

A second feature which becomes more pronounced as Marx grows older is a lack of productivity. After publication of the first volume of *Das Kapital* in 1867, Marx produced no major intellectual work. He assembled notes for the next two volumes of *Kapital*, which Engels completed in 1885 and 1894 respectively. By 1858, Marx had also prepared his *Grundrisse* (outlines) for a major work of socio-economic analysis of which *Das Kapital* was to be only the initial section.⁷ The *Grundrisse* consisted of about one thousand pages of notes, monographs, commentaries and analyses: "The results of fifteen years of research, thus the best period of my life."⁸ However, with all this extensive research and preparation, no significant writing was completed and no new intellectual effort was undertaken between 1867 and Marx's death in 1883.

What was the reason for this lack of productivity? Was it due to declining health or did the pressures to which Marx had been subjected for so long finally blunt his creative genius? We cannot, of course, be sure. For most of these last fifteen years, Marx did lead an intellectually vigorous life and the quality of his mind seemed unimpaired until soon before his death. His financial situation improved considerably. All

signs pointed to a period of great creativity. But, nothing emerged.

One of the more interesting explanations for this absence of creativity has been presented by Fritz J. Raddatz, a biographer of Marx. Raddatz suggests that this intellectual paralysis was deliberate. He argues that with the first volume of *Das Kapital*, Marx had achieved a brilliant critique of capitalism and a stunning historical analysis of the economic evolution of society. Yet, Marx was unable to formulate a solution to his theories. He had little to offer beyond analysis. He could not develop a practical guide for the construction of the new society that was to be shaped after the expected collapse of capitalism. And, above all, he could not create a credible model of this visionary society. Realizing that *Kapital* raised more questions than he could answer, Marx evaded further work on his ideas rather than confront the possibility of his intellectual failure. It was left to Engels to patch together the second and third volumes of *Kapital* from Marx's notes—after the death of Marx.⁹

Support for this viewpoint comes from both Mrs. Marx and Engels. As early as 1858, Jenny Marx wrote to Engels about her husband's problems in working on *Das Kapital*:

Much of the deterioration in his condition is due to mental disquiet and excitement which is naturally greater now after the conclusion of the contract with the publisher and which increases daily since it is simply impossible for him to bring this work to conclusion.¹⁰

Thirty years later, Engels was in the midst of completing Karl Marx's unfinished work. In his prefaces to the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* Engels states that these volumes are reconstructed from manuscripts and papers which Marx had written between 1864 and 1867. This is *before* the first volumes of *Kapital* was published. Thus, we know that Marx had prepared all the materials for full completion of *Kapital* before the first volume was printed in 1867. Yet, he produced nothing of major significance thereafter.

Engels seemed reconciled to Marx's delays and evasions: "We are more or less used to these excuses for noncompletion

of the book . . . he [Marx] was only too glad to find some theoretical excuse why the book was not yet finished."¹¹ There were no external circumstances or special problems of health which can explain why Marx did not complete *Kapital* in the fifteen years available to him. Consequently, we must conclude that there were other reasons which restrained Marx.

As we have seen, Raddatz suggests these were intellectual doubts. However, intellectual uncertainty alone seems an inadequate explanation. Until his death, Marx was prepared to defend his ideas vigorously and never missed an opportunity to engage in theoretical or polemical debate. His opponents, and even many of his supporters, found his convictions dogmatic and unbending. On rational grounds, then, Marx appears to have had no doubts at all.

Perhaps there was another reason which provoked hesitancy about his ideas—thoughts locked within Marx's inner psyche. Marx had predicated the entire intellectual structure of his ideas on the master concepts of economics and collectivity. Economic forces were the engines of history and it was economics which was the primary impulse in determining the social and political condition of society. As his ideas matured, Marx largely ignored the importance of non-economic factors. Individuality, personality, irrationality, love, death and other such elements did not find a place in his schema.

As Marx, himself, stated: "The economic structure of society . . . the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."¹² Engels elaborated further on this theme in his book *Anti-Dühring*: "The ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in the minds of men, in their increasing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange; they are to be sought not in the *philosophy* but in the *economics* of the epoch concerned."¹³

The role of the individual was consequently both determined by and contained within a collective economic frame-

work. Marx, in the *Communist Manifesto*, put it this way: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of the class struggle."¹⁴

Marx regarded particular personal qualities as identical with social qualities; the community, the totality, society invariably only became real to him if the individual were *merged* into them. For Marx, the truth about the individual was discoverable only in a number of individuals. A person was a species idea—a section of people. Accordingly, the social order (in short, the state) was the superior level; if need be [as Lenin later proclaimed] the Party, as truly representing this social order, constituted this superior level.¹⁵

For a man with these ideas individual foibles have no place in the grand unfolding of history. To suggest otherwise would shake the bedrock of his thought, foundations created with such effort and care. Yet, as Marx grew older, his own personal life experience would have demonstrated the weakness of his master thesis.

The very presence of Freddy Demuth was a permanent reminder of human frailty interfering with historical themes and masterworks. Freddy was living proof of how private passion could drive true believers to act in ways drastically opposed to their beliefs. Marx's sustained attempt to protect his social respectability from revelation of his secret was a constant indication that economic factors alone did not determine human motivation. Haunted by fear and shame, and possibly by guilt at his own callous attitude to his son, a man of Marx's extraordinary intelligence would soon realize that his own life invalidated large parts of his theories.

Marx was trapped between life and theory, between the urge for bourgeois respectability and a commitment to ideas about imperatives of historical necessity. So, it is likely that he sought a way out, consciously or unconsciously, in the postponement of any further work on the master themes embodied in *Das Kapital* and outlined in his *Grundrisse*. Such was his personality that having to rethink his theories would have been devastating. Marx's only achievements after dec-

ades of intellectual investment were his ideas. Any admission of their fallibility would have amounted to a rejection of his entire lifework and the purpose of his existence. Certainly, it was much more selfsustaining to defend his ideas against others than to rethink them. It is possible, then, that Marx used a variety of diversions to avoid the consequences of publicly presenting work which his experiences over the years caused him to doubt. And the Demuths were a central part of that experience.

Little purpose will be served in extending this speculation further. Perhaps, it is best for us to recognize that there is enough evidence to indicate the strong possibility that these inner tensions did affect parts of Marx's work and his own view of it. The impact of this work has been so important to political and economic happenings in our world, that to present this as a tentative conclusion is in itself significant.

The nature of Marx's ideas are both prescriptive and controversial. And so, it is inevitable that an awareness of his deadly secret will affect the public perception of his character and possibly of his work. This is perhaps the reason why, whenever they know of it, Marxists are careful to conceal Marx's relationship with the Demuths. Whether one should consider reevaluating Marx because of this knowledge depends largely on how the message of Marx is viewed. If it is seen as essentially an objective approach to history and political economy, Marx's ideas should stand on their own without regard to public perceptions of his character. However, if the ideas of Marx are rooted in the events and experiences of his personal life and shaded by them, we must accept a connection between the character of the messenger and his message.

It is the precise impact of this connection which remains, for all its apparent and actual importance, the ultimate inscrutable secret—one on which there is no last word except perhaps by Marx himself.

Get on, get out. Last words are for fools who haven't said enough.
—Karl Marx

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Richard Nixon, *Leaders*. Warner Books. New York. 1982. pp. 16-17.
2. Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson. An Intimate History*. Bantam Books. New York. 1975. p xii.
3. For a well researched analysis of the relationship between Jefferson and Sally Hemmings, see Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson. An Intimate History*.
4. Jefferson resisted the full emancipation of slaves, but espoused an idea of gradual release. He did not free his own slaves and generally regarded Negroes as racially inferior and unworthy of full equality with whites. See his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, first published in 1784-85. Jefferson believed that the proper place for women was in the home. When it was suggested to him that women might be elected to public office, Jefferson thought this was an idea for which the public was not ready. "Nor am I," he said. See P. L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. New York. 1892-99. Vol. IX, p. 7.
5. William L. Shirer, *Gandhi. A Memoir*. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1979. pp. 234-238. Also see Ved Mehta, *Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles*. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, England. 1977. pp. 179-211.
6. Statement by Gandhi quoted by Mehta. *Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles*. p. 196.
7. Mahatma Gandhi in letter to Nirmal Kumar Bose. *Ibid.* p. 171.
8. Letter from Lord Randolph Churchill to his mother, the seventh Duchess of Marlborough. See Randolph S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill*. Companion Volume I, Part I. 1874-1896. Houghton Mifflin. Boston. 1967. p. 386.
9. Letter from Lord Randolph Churchill to his son Winston Churchill. *Ibid.* pp. 390-391.
10. See Ted Morgan, *Churchill. Young Man In A Hurry. 1874-1915*. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1982. Several sections of this book discuss Churchill's relationship with his father and his mother's life and social activities. See especially Chapters I and II. pp. 15-111.

11. Winston S. Churchill, *My Early Life*. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1930. p. 46.
12. Morgan, *Churchill. Young Man In A Hurry. 1874-1915.* p. 70.
13. *Ibid.* p. 28.
14. Winston S. Churchill, *My Early Life*: p. 5.
15. David Carlton, *Anthony Eden: A Biography*. Allen Lane. London. 1981. See pp. 11-12 for a discussion of the character and behavior of Eden's father. Winston Churchill commented on Eden's father: "His [Sir William Eden] uncontrolled rages terrified his children, who were always on tenterhooks fearing that they might say something that . . . might give rise to a terrible tornado of oaths, screams and gesticulations . . . at anytime there might be a terrible scene of rage . . . it must have been a terrible handicap [for Anthony] to be brought up in such an atmosphere." See Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill: The Struggle For Survival*. Constable. London. 1966. p. 711.
16. Anthony Eden, *Another World 1897-1917*. Allen Lane. London. 1976. p. 55. See also pp. 34-35.
17. John G. Stoessinger, *Crusaders and Pragmatists*. W. W. Norton. New York. 1979. pp. 8-11 and pp. 21-27. The last two sentences in this paragraph are partial quotations from Stoessinger.
18. *The Economist* newsmagazine. London. December 23, 1978. p. 48.
19. Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*. Little Brown. Boston. 1977. pp. 47-48. Stories about Chiang Ch'ing's mother were current in Peking in the mid-1970s, although always discreetly mentioned.
20. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*. Grove Press. New York. 1968. pp. 128-149.
21. *Ibid.* p. 132.
22. For an excellent treatment of this phase of Mao's life and its psychological impact see Bruce Mazlish, *The Revolutionary Ascetic*. Basic Books. New York. 1976. pp. 168-173.
23. Ashraf Pahlavi, *Faces in a Mirror. Memoirs From Exile*. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1980. p. 15.
24. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to History*. Stein and Day. Briarcliff Manor, New York. 1980. pp. 49-54.
25. Mohammed Heikal, *Iran: The Untold Story*. Pantheon Books. New York. 1982. pp. 34-35.

26. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to History*. p. 69.
27. Adolphe de Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War. A Foreigner's Account*. Random House. New York. 1952. p. 100.
28. Charles B. Stozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union*. Basic Books. New York. 1982. p. 219.
29. Abraham Lincoln quoted in Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln, From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon*. New York. 1938. p. 230.
30. Franklin Roosevelt's relationship with Lucy Mercer Rutherford extended over several decades and is extensively documented. When Eleanor Roosevelt discovered it: "The bottom dropped out of my own particular world." Thereafter, their son James states, they "agreed to go on for the sake of appearances, the children and the future, but as business partners, not as husband and wife, provided he ended his affair with Lucy at once, which he did [although he later resumed it.] After that, Father and Mother had an armed truce that endured to the day he died." See Bernard Asbell, *Mother and Daughter: The Letters of Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt*. Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. New York. 1982. p. 26. Also pp. 24-25, 186-189.
31. There is much controversy over the sexual implications of the Eleanor Roosevelt-Lorena Hickok friendship. A journalist, Hickok was assigned to cover Eleanor during the presidential campaign in 1932. The two women quickly developed an intimate friendship. Between 1934 and 1940, they wrote to each other almost every day when they were apart. (2336 letters from Eleanor to Hickok and 1024 from Hickok are available for study, covering the years 1932-1962.) Unknown to many close observers of the White House, Hickok lived in the White House for four years and at the end of her life resided close to Eleanor at Hyde Park. Hickok's habits were not of a kind generally tolerated by Eleanor—she drank and smoked heavily, frequently used profane expressions, was known to be lesbian, and occasionally addressed the First Lady as "darling" and "dearest" at inappropriate times in public. Bernard Asbell (Asbell, *Mother and Daughter: The Letters of Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt*. p. 63) comments: "Some friends permitted themselves to wonder about Eleanor and Hick what they had previously wondered about Eleanor, Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook [other intimate and unmarried friends of Eleanor.]" Eleanor's letters to Lorena Hickok show an unusual intensity of passion e.g. "Oh! dear one, it is all the little things, tones in your voice, the feel of your hair, gestures, these are things I think about

and long for." And again, in typical extracts, "I thought only of you and wanted you even more than I do as a rule." "Hick, my darling . . . I love you and you've made of me so much more of a person just to be worthy of you—Je t'aime et je t'adore." Many of the letters are even more passionate. Hickok's replies were equally intense. For texts of some of these letters, only made available to the public in 1978, see Doris Faber, *The Life of Lorena Hickok—ER's Friend*. William Morrow. New York. 1980. Eleanor's relationship with Hickok is also examined by her biographer Joseph P. Lash in *Love, Eleanor: Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends*. Doubleday. New York. 1982. Before her death in 1968, Lorena Hickok burned several letters and others were later destroyed by her sister. See Joseph P. Lash, *Love, Eleanor*. p. 144.

32. For a full analysis of Rasputin and his influence on Russian policy see Alex de Jonge, *The Life and Times of Gregorii Rasputin*. Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. New York. 1982.
33. The woman referred to is Judith Exner, later author of an autobiography entitled *My Story*. Grove Press. New York. 1977. For a discussion of the Hoover-Kennedy relationship and other information relevant to this situation see Garry Wills, *The Kennedy Imprisonment*. Atlantic-Little, Brown. Boston. 1981. pp. 35-38.
34. John Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power*. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1982. pp. 166-167.

CHAPTER II

1. V. I. Lenin quoted by his wife, N. K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin*. Foreign Languages Publishing House. Moscow. 1959. p. 335.
2. *Checklist of Communist Parties 1982*. Article by Robert Wesson in *Problems of Communism* journal. Washington, D.C. March-April 1983.
3. Extracts from V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* International Publishers. New York, 1969. p. 121.
4. In 1903, Lenin's differences on theory and organization split the Russian Social Democratic Party (the Marxist political organization) into his Bolshevik group and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks were later to call themselves the Communist Party.

5. Robert Jay Lifton, *Revolutionary Immortality*. Random House. New York. 1968. Lifton was Professor of Psychiatry at Yale University.

Lucien W. Pye, *Mao Tse-tung. The Man In the Leader*. Basic Books. New York. 1976. Pye is Ford Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute for Technology.

Bruce Mazlish, *The Revolutionary Ascetic*. Basic Books. New York. 1976. Mazlish is Professor of History at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Rolf W. Theen, *Lenin: Genesis and Development of A Revolutionary*. Quartet Books. London. 1974. Theen is Professor of Political Science at Purdue University in Indiana.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich*. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux. New York. 1976.

Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary 1879-1929*. W. W. Norton. New York. 1974. Tucker is Professor of Politics at Princeton University.

6. Inessa Armand was born in France in 1874 or 1875. When a child, she was sent to live with relatives near Moscow. Married to a wealthy Russian businessman in 1893, Inessa had four children. Around 1903, she left her husband and lived with his brother and had her last child from him. Increasingly radical, she came under Czarist surveillance in 1905 and was arrested in 1907. She then escaped from Russia to Switzerland. After the death of her brother-in-law/common law husband, she drifted into Russian socialist exile circles in Brussels, Paris and other cities in Europe. Around 1910, she met Lenin and became attached to him. Thereafter, on and off, she lived close to Lenin and his wife for almost ten years—undertaking organization work for Lenin and being active in revolutionary efforts. When Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917, Inessa was on the train with him and his party. After the Revolution, she engaged in several administrative tasks and died of cholera in 1920. Her ashes were interred beside the Kremlin wall, a hallowed cemetery for Bolsheviks. Lenin's closeness to Inessa, his visible misery at her funeral, and his unusual familiarity of address to her have all been documented, despite discouragement and obstacles from the Soviet authorities. See *Slavic Review*. No. 1. 1963. pp. 96-114. Essay by Bertram D. Wolfe, on *Lenin and Inessa Armand*. Also, Robert McNeal. *Bride of the Revolution—Krupskaya and Lenin*. University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor. 1972. pp. 130-165.

7. Quoted in Rene Fulop-Muller, *Lenin and Gandhi*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. London. 1927. p. 41.

8. V. I. Lenin, *The Emancipation of Women*. International Publishers. New York. c. 1971. p. 107
9. Ibid. pp. 106-107.
10. Ibid. pp. 36-41. Letters from Lenin to Inessa Armand. In January 1915, Inessa Armand sent Lenin the outline of a pamphlet on women's rights, which she intended to write for working women. In it she was going to urge women to press the "demand for free love." Lenin, commenting on the outline, made many negative observations about this. The pamphlet was never published.

CHAPTER III

1. Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*. See Robert Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*. (Second Edition). W.W. Norton. New York. 1978. p. 145.
2. Marx, in his youth, wrote many poems. By November 1836, when he was eighteen, Marx had filled three large notebooks with fifty six poems: lyrics, ballads and sonnets. Most of them were dedicated to his future wife Jenny, and the notebooks were entitled *Book of Love* (two volumes) and *Book of Songs*. In 1837, Marx selected some of these poems and sent them to his father, as a sixtieth birthday gift. Only two poems were published, both in 1841, in Marx's lifetime. The poems were lost for many years. They were finally discovered and published in 1929. Marx wrote his poetry in German.
3. Karl Marx's examination essay, written in August 1835 just before his graduation from the Trier Gymnasium. See Saul K. Padover (Ed.), *Karl Marx on Education, Women and Children*. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1975. p. 6.
4. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, England. 1967. p. 120.
5. Ibid. p. 56.
6. Article by Karl Marx entitled *The Defense of the Mosel Correspondent* in the *Rheinische Zeitung* newspaper (which he edited). January 19, 1843.
7. Article by Marx, published in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Annals) in Paris in February 1844. The article was

presented in the form of a letter to Arnold Ruge. See Tucker, *Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 13-15.

8. Karl Marx in a letter to Arnold Ruge, September 1843. See Saul K. Padover (Ed.), *The Letters of Karl Marx*, Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, p. 30. References are to Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), Theodore Dézamy (1803-1850), and Christian Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871)—European utopian communists, whose views were rejected by Marx.
9. Karl Marx, *Address to the Working Classes*, 1864. See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Works*. Moscow, 1935. Vol. I. p. 384.
10. Karl Marx in a letter to Ludwig Kugelman. April 12, 1871. See Padover, *Letters*. p. 280.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Speech by Marx in Amsterdam on September 8, 1872. See Saul K. Padover (Ed.), *Karl Marx on Revolution*. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1971. p. 64.
13. Interview with Karl Marx. *Chicago Tribune*. January 5, 1879.
14. David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought*. Harper & Row (Colophon Books). New York. 1977. p. 412 (footnote).
15. Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*. See Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 145.
16. Letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852. See Saul K. Padover (Ed.), *Karl Marx on History and People*. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1977. p. 57.
17. Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Program of the German Workers Party*, 1875. See Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx on Education, Women and Children*. p. 131.
18. Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. p. 105.
19. Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1978. p. 249.
20. *Ibid.* p. 169.
21. *Ibid.* p. 171.
22. For example, Michael Bakunin (1814-1876). This Russian anarchist leader was a member of the First International, from which he was expelled in 1872, after a long and bitter conflict with Marx. Of him, Marx wrote (in a letter to Engels dated September 12, 1863): "Bak-

unin is a monster, a huge mass of flesh and fat that can hardly walk. In addition, he is mad after men and jealous of the seventeen-year old Polish girl who married him in Siberia because of his martyrdom." See Padover, *Karl Marx on History and People*. p. 146.

23. Marx had at least three known extra-marital romances. One was with an attractive thirty-four year old Italian woman (Frau Tenge), who had married a rich Westphalian landowner and who Marx met during a trip to Hanover in 1867. Another was with his cousin Antoinette Philips, nineteen years younger than Marx, whom he met on a visit to his uncle (her father) in Zalt-Bommel, Holland in 1861. Marx returned often to Zalt-Bommel in the next four years and in 1863, the twenty-six year old Antoinette nursed the forty-five year old Marx through an attack of carbuncles. The Marx-Philips correspondence (part of which is in the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, Document D3665) shows an ardent courtship. It is, however, not clear whether the Philips relationship was consummated. The third known relationship was with Helen Demuth. There were other occasional minor flirtations when Marx was away from home, but apparently nothing of a serious romantic nature. See Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*. pp. 330-331, 354-357. Also, Irving Wallace, et al, *The Intimate Sex Lives of Famous People*. Delacorte Press. New York. 1981. p. 446-447.
24. Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx on Education, Women and Children*. pp. xxv; and Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*. p. 296.
25. Karl Marx in a letter to Friedrich Engels, February 3, 1851. Quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*. p. 297.
26. Written by his daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling in 1895. From *Marx and Engels Through The Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1972. pp. 194-195.
27. Letter from Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in early 1850. Quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography*. p. 287.
28. Extracts from letters of Marx to Engels. See Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx*. pp. 84-85, 111, 115, 121, 122, 123-124, 134, 154, 156-157, 159-160, 163, 165.
29. Padover, *Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 295. It is difficult to equate the modern value of Engels gifts to Marx. A general estimate suggest that these gifts would have a current value of well over £100,000 or 200,000 U.S. dollars.
30. Wilhelm Liebknecht's reminiscences of Marx published in 1896. From *Marx and Engels Through The Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. p. 78.

CHAPTER IV

1. Helen Demuth's death certificate in November 1890, available in the records of Somerset House in London, gives her age as sixty-seven. She is buried in a joint grave with Marx and his wife in Highgate Cemetery in London and the gravestone inscription reads "Born January 1st, 1823." However, recent research in Germany has established her birth at 1:00 a.m. on December 31, 1820, making her seventy at the time of her death.
2. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx. Biographical Memoirs*. Charles H. Kerr. Chicago. 1901. p. 123.
3. Wilhelm Liebknecht quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 207.
4. Wilhelm Liebknecht's reminiscences of Marx published in 1896. From *Marx and Engels Through The Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1972. p. 113.
5. Reminiscences of Paul Lafargue (Son-in-law of Karl Marx). From *Marx and Engels Through The Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. p. 45.
6. Marian Skinner Comyn in *The Nineteenth Century and After*. Vol. 91. No. 539. January 1922.
7. Karl Marx quoted by his daughter Eleanor Marx in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht dated March 12, 1896. See Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by George Eckert). Mouton and Company. The Hague, 1963, p. 445. The original of this letter is in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.
8. In 1873, Helen Demuth journeyed to St. Wendel on receiving the news that one of her sisters was dying. Again in 1888, she visited St. Wendel for a week. Although she may have made other visits, no records exist of them. Her closeness and reluctance to leave the Marx family, even for a short time, makes it improbable that there were any or many other visits.
9. Marianne Demuth joined the Marx family as a maid in 1857 and died in their service in 1862.
10. Karl Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels, March 31, 1851. See Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx*. p. 69.
11. Karl Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels. April 2, 1851. Quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 507.

12. Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 506.
13. Karl Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels. March 31, 1851. See Padover. *The Letters of Karl Marx*. p. 68.
14. Karl Marx in letter to Ludwig Kugelmann. October 25, 1866. *Ibid.* p. 221.
15. Jenny Marx, *Short Sketches of an Eventful Life*; published in *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1972. p. 173. In 1865, Jenny Marx prepared some notes on her life, with the intention of writing her biography. This was never completed, but her notes were published almost one hundred years later in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*. Progress Publishers. Moscow.
16. As when on August 8, 1856, Marx wrote to his wife, who was then away in Trier: "I received this morning a note from Frederic, containing 15 taler for Lenchen." See Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx*. p. 108.
17. Statement by Harry J. Demuth, grandson of Freddy Demuth and son of Harry Demuth, when interviewed by me in London. August 19, 1982.
18. Karl Marx in letter to Joseph Weydemeyer. August 21, 1851. See Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 507.
19. Karl Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels. April 2, 1851. Quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 297.
20. Karl Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels. January 17, 1855. See Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx*. p. 95.
21. Louise Freyberger, who had become Engels housekeeper on the death of Helen Demuth in 1890, in letter to the German Socialist leader August Bebel dated September 2, 1898. See Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 524.
22. *Ibid.* See Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 523.
23. Harry Demuth, son of Freddy, was born in 1882 and died in January 1980.
24. Recollections of Harry Demuth as recorded by Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. Pantheon Books. New York. 1976. pp. 435-436. See also *The Unloved Son*. Article in *Der Spiegel* Magazine. No. 44. October 23, 1972. pp. 188-190.
25. Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 432 (footnote).

26. Eleanor Marx in letter to Dollie Radford dated July 2, 1884. *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 16.
27. Copy of Helen Demuth's death certificate in the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier.
28. Eleanor Marx in letter to Laura Lafargue dated December 19, 1890. See *The Daughters of Karl Marx. Family Correspondence 1866-1898*. Commentary and notes by Olga Meier. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. New York. 1982. p. 224.
29. Eleanor Marx in letter to Laura Lafargue dated July 26 1892. *Ibid.* p. 240.
30. Louise Freyberger in letter to August Bebel dated September 2, 1898. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 435. (footnote).
31. Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 436-437.
32. Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) was born in Prussia and lived the last forty-six years of his life in England. Although susceptible to attractive women, and having a mistress in Manchester for many years, Engels never really married and had no children.
33. Louise Freyberger in letter to August Bebel dated September 2, 1898. This letter details the deathbed disclosure of Freddy Demuth's paternity and describes Eleanor Marx's reactions. The letter is extensively quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. pp. 522-524; and discussed in Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. I. pp. 292-297. A transcript of the letter, in the original German, is in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. See Appendix III for details of this letter.
34. These details are taken from Louise Freyberger's letter. *Ibid.*
35. David McLellan, *Karl Marx. His Life and Thought*. Harper and Row (Colophon Books). New York. 1977. pp. 279-280.
36. *Ibid.* pp. 271, 277, 451. Also see Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 11.

CHAPTER V

1. Louise Freyberger in letter to August Bebel dated September 2, 1898. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. I. p. 296. There is some doubt

as to whether this statement is correct because Freyberger was writing about events of which she was not directly aware.

2. Recollections of Harry Demuth as recorded by Yvonne Kapp. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 438.
3. See *The Unloved Son*. Article in *Der Spiegel* magazine. No. 44. October 23, 1972. pp. 188-190.
4. Jenny Longuet in letter to Laura Lafargue (both daughters of Marx) dated May 17, 1882. This letter is in the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.
5. Fritz J. Raddatz, *Karl Marx. A Political Biography*. Little, Brown. Boston. 1977. p. 134.
6. Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 508.
7. Eleanor Marx in letter to her sister Laura Lafargue dated July 26, 1892. This letter is reproduced in full in *Daughters of Karl Marx. Family Correspondence 1866-1898*. (Commentary and notes by Olga Meier). pp. 240-241.
8. Eleanor Marx in letter to her sister Laura Lafargue dated December 10, 1895. Ibid. p. 285.
9. Engels estate was probated at a value of £25,265. This was a very considerable sum in those days. After estate taxes and special bequests had been paid, Eleanor and Laura each received £7,642, one-third of which was in trust for their deceased sister Jenny's children. In effect, they received something over £5,000 each for themselves.
10. Eleanor Marx in letter to her sister Laura Lafargue dated January 14, 1896. This letter is in the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.
11. Harry Demuth recalls that his mother Ellen asked him, at dinner, before she left, whether he wanted to come with her. Harry, then about ten years old, elected to stay with his father. See *The Unloved Son*. Article in *Der Spiegel* magazine. No. 44. October 23, 1972. pp. 188-190.
12. Recollections of Harry Demuth as recorded by Yvonne Kapp. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 438.
13. Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. p. 510.
14. Eleanor Marx's letters to Freddy Demuth dated August 30 to September 2, 1898. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. pp. 680-682.

15. Eleanor Marx's letter to Freddy Demuth dated January 13, 1898. Reproduced in full in Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. p. 687.
16. Eleanor Marx in letters to Freddy Demuth dated February 3 to March 1, 1898. See Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. II. pp. 687-688, 691-692.
17. Eleanor Marx left a gross estate valued at £1,909 entirely to Edward Aveling. She bequeathed her interest in the works of Karl Marx to the children of her deceased sister Jenny.
18. Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. I. p. 297 (footnote).
19. Freddy Demuth in letter to Laura Lafargue dated October 10, 1910. This letter is in the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (Document G280).
20. Freddy Demuth in letter to Eduard Bernstein dated August 29, 1912. This letter is in the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.
21. Records of his union membership and pension are available in the London archives of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), successor union to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU). Freddy belonged to the ASE and its successor the AEU. It also appears that, for a time, Freddy was treasurer of Branch 194 of the English Metal-workers Trade Union. See Fritz J. Raddatz, *Karl Marx. A Political Biography*. Little, Brown. Boston. 1979. p. 138.
22. Interview with Harry J. Demuth, grandson of Freddy Demuth. London. August 19, 1982. Harry J. Demuth, now almost seventy years old, is one of five surviving grandchildren of Freddy Demuth (as of August, 1982).
23. Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*. Vol. I. p. 294.
24. *Ibid.* p. 294.
25. This is the opinion of Freddy Demuth's grandson, who told me that his father (Freddy's son Harry) was also of the same opinion. It was apparently some time after the death of Freddy that his descendants learned that he was the son of Karl Marx. Interview with Harry J. Demuth, grandson of Freddy Demuth. London. August 19, 1982.
26. See *The Unloved Son*. Article in *Der Spiegel* magazine. No. 44. October 23, 1972. pp. 188-190.

CHAPTER VI

1. Interview with Harry J. Demuth, grandson of Freddy Demuth. London. August 19, 1982.

CHAPTER VII

1. William J. Broad, *What Happens When Heroes of Science Go Astray?* Article in the *New York Times*, Science Times Section. p. C 1. January 25, 1983.
2. Laurence Olivier, *Confessions of an Actor—An Autobiography*. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1982. p. 222.
3. Gary Crosby and Ross Firestone, *Going My Own Way*. Doubleday. New York. 1983.
4. Marx's letters to his prospective son-in-law Paul Lafargue and his father, Francois Lafargue, suggest a quite unrevolutionary approach to his daughter Laura's future. On August 13, 1866, during the week of Lafargue's proposal to Laura, Marx wrote: "Before your relations with Laura are definitely settled, I must be completely clear about your economic circumstances." On the same day, he wrote to Francois Lafargue in France informing him that Marx needed "positive information" about Lafargue's economic condition before matters between his son and Laura could go any further. Both letters are quoted in Padover, *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography*. pp. 488-490.
5. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, England. 1967. p. 101.
6. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*. Chapter III. Section D. 1846. Quoted in Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx on Education, Women and Children*. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1975. p. 61.
7. The *Grundrisse* in its totality was unavailable outside Russia until 1953, when an East German edition became available. An English selection was published in 1971. See David McLellan, *Marx's Grundrisse*. Macmillan. London. 1971. The first complete English text was published in 1973. *The Pelican Marx Library: Grundrisse*.

Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft). Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England. 1973. Translated with a forward by Martin Nichlaus.

8. Karl Marx in letter dated November 1858. Quoted in McLellan, *Marx's Grundrisse*. p. 22. Students of the *Grundrisse* detect a revival of the humanism of his earlier years, but we do not know what parts of the *Grundrisse* would have been finally published by Marx and how he would have presented these materials. Apart from illustrating his research and revealing interesting ideas, the value of these outlines is in its portrayal of Marx's mind at work.
9. See Fritz J. Raddatz, *Karl Marx. A Political Biography*. Little Brown. Boston. 1979. Especially see Chapter 9—Capital. pp. 231-239.
10. Jenny Marx in letter to Friedrich Engels dated April 9, 1858. Published in *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke* (German language edition). Institute for Marxism-Leninism. East Berlin. 1956-68. Vol. 29. p. 648.
11. Friedrich Engels in letter to Nikolai F. Danielson dated November 13, 1885. *Ibid.* Vol. 36. p. 385.
12. Karl Marx in the preface to his book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1859. Quoted in *The Marx-Engels Reader* (Ed. Robert C. Tucker). W.W. Norton, New York. 1978, p. 4.
13. Friedrich Engels quoted in *A Handbook of Marxism* (Ed. E. Burns). Random House. New York. 1935. p. 279. Engels' italics.
14. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. p. 79.
15. Fritz J. Raddatz, *Karl Marx. A Political Biography*. p. 254.

Appendix I

THE DEMUTH AFFAIR—PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Jenny Von Westphalen Marx (1814-1881), his wife.

Jenny (1844-1883), his eldest daughter. Also known as Jennychen. Married to French socialist journalist Charles Longuet (1839-1903) and lived in France.

Laura (1845-1911), his second daughter. Also known as Laurent or Jane. Married to French socialist Paul Lafargue (1842-1911) and lived in France. Committed suicide.

Eleanor (1855-1898), his youngest child. Also known as Tussy. Unmarried and lived in England. Commonlaw “wife” of Edward Aveling (1849-1898). Committed suicide.

Helen Demuth (1820-1890), his housekeeper-maid. Mother of Frederick Demuth. Later (1893-1890) housekeeper to Engels.

Frederick Demuth (1851-1929), illegitimate son of Karl Marx and Helen Demuth.

Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), Marx’s friend, collaborator and supporter. Pretended to be Frederick Demuth’s father.

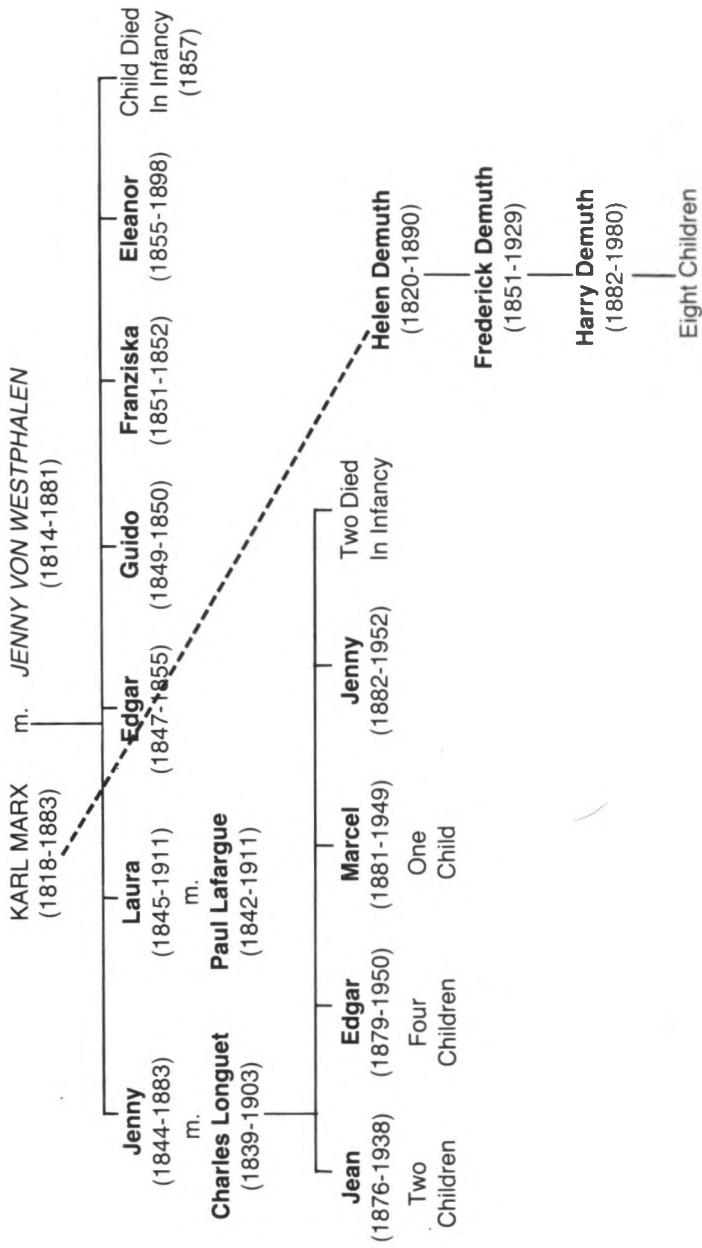
Louise Freyberger (1860-1950), nee Strasser, Viennese wife of Austrian socialist leader Karl Kautsky (divorced 1889). Engels’ housekeeper-companion 1890-1895. Married Dr. Ludwig Freyberger in 1894.

Ludwig Freyberger (1865-1934), Austrian physician. Married Louise Kautsky in 1894 and moved into Engels’ house. Physician to Engels.

Samuel Moore (1830-1912), English lawyer and close friend of Marx and Engels. Co-translator of *Das Kapital* (Vol. I) into English.

Appendix II

DESCENDANTS OF KARL MARX



Appendix III

THE FREYBERGER LETTER

An important source of information about Engels' deathbed disclosures and about Marx's paternity of Freddy Demuth is the Freyberger Letter. This letter was written by Louise Freyberger, who was companion and housekeeper to Engels from 1890 to 1895, to her friend, the German socialist leader August Bebel. It is dated September 2, 1898 which is three years after the death of Engels and a few months after the suicide of Eleanor Marx. The letter was lost for many decades and only discovered in the 1950s. A typed copy, in the original German, is in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The actual letter itself has not been found and the Amsterdam document, typed on three pages yellowed with age, is a transcript from an unknown source. Its authenticity appears valid as the style, abbreviations, form of spelling and notations conform exactly with other letters written by Louise Freyberger. This copy, from its age and typescript, appears to have been made from the original at the time when that letter was written by her.

In this letter, Louise Freyberger refers to Engels as General, the nickname by which he was known. Tussy is Eleanor Marx and Ludwig is Dr. Ludwig Freyberger, Louise's husband and doctor to Engels. Lessner and Pfänder are Friedrich Lessner (1827-1910) and Karl Pfänder (1818-1876), German socialist refugees who immigrated to London in the 1840s and were both close friends of Marx.

Quoted below are the passages of the Freyberger letter directly relevant to the Demuth situation:

I know from General himself that Freddy Demuth is Marx's son. Tussy went on at me so, that I asked the old man straight out. General was very astonished that Tussy clung to her opinion so obstinately. And he told me that if necessary I was to give the lie

to the gossip that he disowned his son. You will remember that I told you about it long before General's death.

Moreover this fact that Frederick Demuth was the son of Karl Marx and Helen Demuth, was again confirmed by General a few days before his death in a statement to Mr. Moore, who then went to Tussy at Orpington and told her. Tussy maintained that General was lying and that he himself had always admitted he was the father. Moore came back from Orpington and questioned General again closely. But the old man stuck to his statement that Freddy was Marx's son, and said to Moore: "Tussy wants to make an idol of her father."

On Sunday, that is to say the day before he died, General wrote it down himself for Tussy on the slate, and Tussy came out so shattered that she forgot all about her hatred of me and wept bitterly on my shoulder.

General gave us (i.e. Mr. Moore, Ludwig and myself) permission to make use of the information only if he should be accused of treating Freddy shabbily. He said he would not want his name slandered, especially as it could no longer do anyone any good. By taking Marx's part he had saved him from a serious domestic conflict. Apart from ourselves and Mr. Moore and Marx's children (I think Laura knew about the story even though perhaps she had not heard it exactly), the only others that knew that Marx had a son were Lessner and Pfänder. After the Freddy letters had been published, Lessner said to me: "Of course Freddy is Tussy's brother, we knew all about it, but we could never find out where the child was brought up."

Freddy looks comically like Marx and, with that really Jewish face and thick black hair, it was really only blind prejudice that could see in him any likeness to General. I have seen the letter that Marx wrote to General in Manchester at that time (of course General was not yet living in London then); but I believe General destroyed this letter, like so many others they exchanged.

That is all I know about the matter. Freddy has never found out, either from his mother or from General, who his father really is . . .

I am just reading over again the few lines you wrote me about the question. Marx was continually aware of the possibility of divorce, since his wife was frantically jealous. He did not love the

child, and the scandal would have been too great if he had dared to do anything for him. . .

There are two unexplained questions that arise from this letter. It appears, from the first paragraph quoted above, that Eleanor Marx had expressed some curiosity about Freddy Demuth's paternity some time before Engels died. Apparently she was unwilling to ask Engels personally and so discussed it with Louise Freyberger. When Louise Freyberger approached Engels directly, he confirmed that Freddy Demuth was the son of Karl Marx. Louise Freyberger mentioned this to August Bebel at that time, but it is evident that she never told Eleanor Marx. Eleanor appears to have continued in the belief that Engels was the father. It was only on Engels' deathbed, a while later, that she came to know the truth. It may well be that Eleanor suspected something about Freddy's paternity, but it may also be that she never suspected her father's responsibility.

The second unexplained matter is the reference to the publication of "the Freddy letters" mentioned in the fourth paragraph. There is no clue as to what these letters are or what Louise Freyberger means by this comment.

Appendix IV

KARL MARX—CHRONOLOGY

1814

February 12 Birth of Jenny von Westphalen, Marx's future wife, in Salzwedel, Prussia.

1818

May 5 Birth of Karl Marx, son of lawyer Heinrich Marx and Dutch-born Henriette Marx (nee Presborg or Presburg or Presborck), in Trier, No. 664 Brückengasse (now No. 10 Brückenstrasse).

	1820
<i>January 1</i>	Birth of Helen Demuth.
<i>November 28</i>	Birth of Friedrich Engels.
	1824
<i>August 26</i>	Baptized, together with seven siblings (Sophie, Hermann, Henriette, Luise, Emilie, Karoline, and Eduard), in Lutheran church. The Marx family had been Jewish.
	1830
<i>October</i>	Enters Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium in Trier, where he remains until September 1835.
	1835
<i>September 24</i>	Graduates from Gymnasium.
<i>October 15</i>	Matriculates at Bonn University as <i>Studiosus juris et cameralium</i> , attending lectures in law, Roman history, and Greek mythology. Address: 1 Stocken Strasse, then 764 Joseph Strasse.
	1836
<i>August</i>	Fights a student duel, is wounded in right eye.
<i>August 22</i>	Leaves Bonn for Trier, where he becomes secretly engaged to Jenny von Westphalen.
<i>Mid October</i>	By post coach to Berlin, taking up quarters first at 61 Mittelstrasse, then 50 Alte Jacobstrasse.
<i>October 22</i>	Matriculates at Berlin University, Faculty of Law, attending lectures in philosophy, law, art history. He remains in Berlin four and a half years, until March 30, 1841.
	1837
	Reads Hegel, other philosophers and jurists; writes plays, fifty-six poems (<i>Book of Love</i> and <i>Book of Poems</i> , dedicated to Jenny von Westphalen; and <i>Wild Songs</i> , dedicated to his father); meets Young Hegelians, the socalled Freien; has a nervous breakdown.
<i>November 10</i>	Writes 4,000-word letter to father, explaining his readings, writings, search for truth, and his undisciplined behavior.

1838

May 10 Death of his father, Heinrich Marx, in Trier.

1839-40

Studies Greek philosophers and works on his doctoral dissertation, *Differenz der demokritischen und epikureischen Naturphilosophie* [*Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*].

1841

January 23 Publication of two poems, *Der Spielmann* and *Nachtliebe*, in *Athenaeum*; the only poems Marx ever published.

March 30 Completes studies at Berlin University.

April 15 Receives Ph.D. degree from Jena University, in absentia.

Mid-April Leaves Berlin for Trier, where he remains until early July.

May 4 Declared unfit for military service because of affected lungs.

Early July—Mid-October Moves to Bonn in vain expectation of a university professorship.

1842

January 15—February 10 Writes on Prussian censorship for Ruge's *Deutsche Jahrbücher*; because of censorship difficulties the article is not published until February 1843, in Swiss-based *Anekdoten zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik*, Vol. I.

Late January Writes article, *Luther As Arbiter Between Strauss and Feuerbach*, published in *Anekdoten*, Vol. II, 1843.

March 3 Death of Ludwig von Westphalen, Jenny's father.

May 5 Begins a series of six articles on debates over freedom of the press in the Rhenish Landtag, in *Rheinische Zeitung* (May 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 19).

August 9 Publishes *The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law*, in *Rheinische Zeitung* (the censor cut out the section on marriage).

Mid-October Becomes editor in chief of *Rheinische Zeitung* and moves to Cologne from Bonn.

October 16 Publishes article on communism in *Rheinische Zeitung*.

October—Early 1843 Begins study of French utopians: Fourier, Cabet, Proudhon, etc.

November Marx and Engels meet for the first time, in office of *Rheinische Zeitung*.

November 15 Publishes critical article on religious aspects of divorce law in *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Late November Breaks with Young Hegelians over *Rheinische Zeitung* policy.

December 19 Publishes critical article on divorce law in *Rheinische Zeitung*.

1843

January 1-16 Publishes a series of seven articles on the suppression of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* in *Rheinische Zeitung* (January 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16).

March 17 Resigns from *Rheinische Zeitung* (closed by censorship on April 1.).

Late March Travels in Holland.

June 19 Marries Jenny von Westphalen at Kreuznach.

Summer Writes *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* and *On the Jewish Question*.

Late October Moves to Paris: 41 Rue Vaneau, Fbg. St. Germain; and becomes coeditor (with Ruge) of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

1844

Late February Publishes first double issue of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, containing his two articles *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* and *On the Jewish Question*.

March 23 Meets Michael Bakunin in Paris.

March 26 Break with Arnold Ruge and suspension of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

April-August Works on the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844 (first published in Berlin, 1932).

April 16 Prussian Government issues order for Marx's arrest for "high treason and *lèse majesté*" if he enters Prussia.

May 1 Birth of daughter Jenny, called Jennychen, in Paris.

July Meets Pierre Joseph Proudhon.

August 7, 10 Publishes anti-Ruge articles, *The King of Prussia*, etc., in *Vorwärts!*, a twice-weekly German-language publication in Paris.

August 28 Meets Engels for the second time, and strikes up a permanent friendship.

September Begins to meet with French workingmen's groups and to study economic and socialist theorists.

Autumn Meets Proudhon and other revolutionists.

Winter Begins writing *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*.

Mid-January Receives order of expulsion from Paris.

February 1 Signs contract with Darmstadt publisher, Karl Leske, for a two-volume work, *Critique of Political and National Economy*.

1845

<i>February 2</i>	Meets utopian communist Etienne Cabet.
<i>February 3</i>	Moves to Brussels: 4 Rue d'Alliance, outside Porte de Louvain.
<i>February 24</i>	Publication of <i>Die Heilige Familie</i> [The Holy Family], a polemic against Bruno Bauer and colleagues, written in collaboration with Engels.
<i>Spring</i>	Writes <i>Thesis on Feuerbach</i> (first published by Engels in his <i>Ludwig Feuerbach</i> , in 1888).
<i>July 12</i>	In company of Engels visits London and Manchester for first time.
<i>August 20</i>	Participates in Chartist conference in London.
<i>August 24</i>	Returns to Brussels.
<i>September</i>	Begins work on the <i>Deutsche Ideologie</i> [The German Ideology;].
<i>September 6</i>	Birth of daughter Laura.
<i>November 10</i>	Requests release from Prussian citizenship.
<i>December 1</i>	Gives up Prussian citizenship.
1846	
<i>Early in year</i>	Founds, with Engels, a Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels.
<i>March 30</i>	Vehement confrontation with German radical Wilhelm Weitling.
<i>Late April</i>	Meets German radical Wilhelm Wolff, who becomes a life-long friend.
<i>May</i>	Moves to hotel Au Bois Sauvage: 19/21 Plaine Ste. Gudule.
<i>Summer</i>	Completes, with Engels, <i>The German Ideology</i> , but can find no publisher in Germany.

1847

January 3-
February, 1848 Writes for *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, a radical paper in Brussels.

Mid-January Moves to new address: 42 Rue d'Orleans, Fbg. de Namour, Brussels.

January-April Works on *Misère de la Philosophie* [Poverty of Philosophy].

Early June Organizes, with Engels, German Communist League, in Brussels.

Early July Publication, in French, of *Misère de la Philosophie*, *Response à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon*, in Paris and Brussels (a German edition came out in 1885).

Late August Founders, with Engels, German Workers' Association, for propagation of communist ideas.

November 15 Elected vice-president of the Brussels Association *Démocratique*.

November 29 Participates, with Engels, in international meeting of Fraternal Democrats in London.

November 29-
December 8 Participates, with Engels, in London congress of Communist League, which commissions them to draw up the *Manifesto*.

December 13 Returns to Brussels from London.

December 17 Birth of son Edgar.

Late December Lectures before German Workers' Association on *Wage Labor and Capital*, published later as a pamphlet in 1884, 1891, and 1925.

1848

Late January Completes with Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and sends it to London to be printed.

February 24 Publication, in German, of *Manifesto*.

February 25 Resigns as vice-president of the Brussels Association *Démocratique*.

March 1 Receives invitation from French Provisional Government to return to Paris.

March 3 Receives order of expulsion from Brussels.

March 4 Arrested in Brussels.

March 5 Arrives in Paris; address: 10 Rue Neuve Ménilmontant (Bld. Beaumarchais).

March 8-9 Helps found Club of German Workers in Paris.

March 12 Elected president of Communist League.

March 21, 29 Writes, with Engels, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*.

April 6 Leaves Paris, with Engels, to participate in German revolution.

April 11 Arrives in Cologne; address: No. 7 Apostelstrasse.

Mid-April Works on plans to establish the daily, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

June 1 Publishes first issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, subtitled *Organ der Demokratie* [Organ of Democracy]. It started with 6,000 subscribers, and appeared until May 19, 1849.

Early July *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* investigated by police.

July 20 Attacks Prussian censorship in an article in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

July 21 Elected member of Cologne Democratic Society.

August 3 Denied citizenship by Prussian Government.

August 23-
September 11 Trip to Berlin and Vienna to raise money for *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

September 11 Returns to Cologne.

September 25 Outbreak of revolution in Cologne.

September 26 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* suspended under martial law.

October 5 Reappearance of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

November Meets Charles A. Dana, who is later (1852) to appoint him London correspondent of *New York Daily Tribune*.

November 14, 20,
23, 26 Appears in court on charges of *lèse majesté* and incitement to rebellion.

December 2 Summoned to court again.

December 6 Indicted.

December 20-21 Court trial. Decision postponed.

1849

February 7-8 Tried in Cologne court and acquitted by jury.

May 16 Receives order of expulsion from Prussia.

May 19 Publication of last issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

June 3 Arrives in Paris.

July Joined by wife and children; address: 45 Rue de Lille.

July 19 Receives order of expulsion from Paris.

August 24 Leaves Paris for London.

<i>Late August</i>	Helps to reconstitute Communist League in London.
<i>Early September</i>	Joins German Workers' Educational Society.
<i>September 17</i>	Joined by pregnant wife and their children; lives in rooming house in Leicester Square, London
<i>Late September</i>	Marx family moves to one dingy room at 4 Anderson Street, Chelsea, London.
<i>November 5</i>	Birth of son, Heinrich Guido, called Föxchen, because he was born on Guy Fawkes Day.
<i>November 10</i>	Engels arrives in London.
<i>December</i>	Works with Engels on publication of <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue</i> .
	1850
<i>January</i>	Illness.
<i>March 6</i>	First issue of <i>Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue</i> , printed in Hamburg in an edition of 2,500 copies, and dated January, 1850.
<i>Late March</i>	Second issue of the <i>Revue</i> , dated February, 1850, 2,000 copies.
<i>March</i>	Evicted from 4 Anderson Street, Chelsea; moves to one room in hotel for German refugees on Leicester Street, near Leicester Square, London.
<i>April 17</i>	Third issue of the <i>Revue</i> , dated March, 1850.
<i>May 19</i>	Fourth issue of the <i>Revue</i> , dated March-April, 1850.
<i>November 29</i>	Fifth-sixth, and last, double issue of the <i>Revue</i> , dated May-October, 1850.
<i>March-November</i>	Publication of <i>The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850</i> , as a series in the <i>Revue</i> . In 1895 Engels published the whole in book form under this title.

<i>Spring</i>	Evicted from German hotel in Leicester Square and moves to squalid quarters: 64 Dean Street, Soho, London.
<i>Mid-April</i>	Meets Wilhelm Liebknecht on excursion of German Workers' Educational Society.
<i>July</i>	Begins study of political economy in British Museum.
<i>September 17</i>	Quits Workers' Educational Society over doctrinal dispute.
<i>Late November</i>	Engels moves to Manchester, to enter business and help support Marx financially, which he will do for the rest of the latter's life.
<i>November 19</i>	Death of one-year-old son Heinrich Guido.
<i>November 30</i>	First publication of <i>Manifesto of the Communist Party</i> in English (translation by Helen MacFarlane), in George Julian Harney's <i>Red Republican</i> , a Chartist weekly.
<i>December</i>	Moves to small three-room furnished apartment: 28 Dean Street, Soho, where the Marx family lives until September 1856.
1851	
<i>March 28</i>	Birth of daughter Franziska.
<i>April 17</i>	Visits Engels in Manchester.
<i>Late April</i>	Publication of first part of <i>Gesammelte Aufsätze von Karl Marx</i> [Collected Essays by Karl Marx], by Hermann Becker in Cologne.
<i>May-December</i>	Works in British Museum daily "from 10A.M. to 7P.M."
<i>June 23</i>	Birth of Frederick Demuth, Marx's illegitimate son by his housekeeper, Helen Demuth.

August 7 Receives invitation from Dana to write for *New York Daily Tribune*.

November 5-15 Visits Engels in Manchester.

*December 19-
March 25, 1852* Works on *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* [The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte].

1852

January Ill with hemorrhoids and hardly able to work.

January-May Publication of *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*, in two installments, in Joseph Weydemeyer's New York German-language weekly, *Die Revolution*. A revised edition came out in book form in Hamburg, 1869.

April 14 Death of daughter Franziska.

*Late May-
Mid June* Visits Engels in Manchester, where they work on booklet, *Die grossen Männer des Exils* [The Great Men of the Exile].

July-August Resumes research in British Museum.

August 21 Publications of Marx's own article (translated by Engels), *The Elections in England: Tories and Whigs*, in *New York Daily Tribune*. (His last *Tribune* article was published March 10, 1862.)

October 2-23 Reprint of the *Tribune* article in the Chartist weekly, the People's Paper (October 2, 9, 16, 23).

November 17 Dissolution, at Marx's suggestion, of Communist League.

December 14 Ill with hemorrhoids.

1853

Late January Publication of *Enthüllungen über den Kölner Kommunisten Prozess* [Revelations About the Cologne Communist Trial], in Basel.

March Grave liver inflammation ("I came near to croaking this week," Marx to Engels, March 10).

April 24 Publication of *Enthüllungen* as a pamphlet in Boston.

April 30-
May 19 Visit to Engels in Manchester.

October 19-
January 11, 1854 Publishes six articles, *Lord Palmerston*, in *New York Daily Tribune*; the series also appeared, in eight articles, in the Chartist weekly, the *People's Paper* (October 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, December 10, 17, 24, 1853).

November 21-28 Writes *Der Ritter vom edelmütigen Bewusstsein* [The Knight of Magnanimous Consciousness], a satire against August Willich.

1854

Mid January Publication of *Der Ritter* as a brochure in New York.

March 6 Publishes article, *The Oriental War*, in the Cape-town *Zuid Afrikaan*.

May 1 Illness—tumors, toothaches, etc. and inability to work.

September 9-
December 2 Publishes a series of eight articles, *Revolutionary Spain*, in *New York Daily Tribune* (September 9, 25, October 20, 27, 30, November 24, December 1, 2).

1855

January 2-
October 8 Publication of first article, *Rückblicke* [Retrospects], in the Breslau daily, *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. Altogether, Marx contributed 112 articles (a few of them in collaboration with Engels), many of which also appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune*, to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. The last article, *The French Bank—Reinforcements for the Cri-*

mea—*The New Field Marshals*,” came out October 8, 1855.

January 16 Birth of daughter Eleanor (Tussy).

February 9-March Illness and eye inflammation.

April 6 Death of seven-year-old son Edgar (Musch).

April 18-May 6 Marx and wife visit Engels in Manchester.

May 16 Publication of Palmerston articles as a pamphlet in Tucker's *Political Fly-Sheets*.

June Illness and “atrocious toothache.”

July 28-August 15 Publication of a series of six articles, *Lord John Russell*, in *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (July 28, August 4, 7, 8, 10, 15).

July-
September 12 Marx family temporarily stays in Peter Imandt's cottage: 3 York Place, Denmark Street, Camberwell, near London.

September 12-
Early December Marx family visits Engels in Manchester: 34 Butler Street, Green Keys. Then, moves back to Dean Street, Soho, London.

December 29-
February 16, 1856 Republication of Palmerston articles from the *People's Paper* in Urquhart's *Free Press*; they were also published as a separate brochure, No. 5 of *Free Press Serials*.

1856

January-February Ill with hemorrhoids.

February-April Research in British Museum (though “plagued by hemorrhoids”) on Russo-British diplomatic relations in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

April 5-26 Publishes a series of four articles, *The Fall of Kars*, in the *People's Paper* (April 5, 12, 19, 26).

April 14 Speech at anniversary banquet of the *People's Paper* on revolution and the proletariat.

May 18-June 5 Illness and inability to work.

June 7-Mid June Visits Engels in Manchester.

June 21-July 11 Publication of a series of three articles, *The French Crédit Mobilier*, in *New York Daily Tribune* (June 21, 24, July 11).

June 21 Begins writing *Diplomatic History of the Seventeenth Century*. (This work was not completed.)

July 23 Death of Marx's mother-in-law, Caroline von Westphalen.

Early October Moves from Soho to new house in undeveloped suburb: 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London. The Marx family lived here until 1864.

1857

January-July Illness and inability to work (Mrs. Marx to Engels, April 12: "Der Chaley has a headache, terrible toothaches, pains in the ears, head, eyes, throat, and God knows what else. Neither opium pills nor creosote helps").

May Studies Danish and Swedish.

July Birth of unnamed child who died in infancy.

Late August-Mid September Works on introduction to a book on political economy. The introduction was first published in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1903.

September-April, 1858 Writes sixteen articles—eight in collaboration with Engels—for the *New American Cyclopaedia*, published in New York.

1858

February-Late May Illness—liver, toothaches, etc.—and inability to work.

May 6-24 Visits Engels in Manchester.

August Begins writing *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* [Critique of Political Economy].

Early November Toothaches and inability to work.

1859

January 26 Manuscript of *Critique of Political Economy* sent to publisher Franz Duncker in Berlin.

June 4 Introduction to *Zur Kritik* published in *Das Volk*, a radical German language London weekly.

June 11 Publication of *Zur Kritik*, First Part, in an edition of 1,000 copies. (An English translation did not appear until 1909.)

June 12-July 2 Visits Engels in Manchester.

July 3 Becomes editor of *Das Volk*.

July 30 Publishes article, *Invasion!* in *Das Volk*.

July 30-August 20 Series of four articles, *Quid pro Quo*, published in *Das Volk* (July 30, August 6, 13, 20).

August 20 *Das Volk* ceases publication.

1860

January-Early February Works on Second Part of *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (never completed).

May-November 17 Works on *Herr Vogt*, a bitter, violent, and financially ruinous pamphlet against Karl Vogt, whom Marx accused of being a Bonapartist agent.

Late November Illness and toothaches.

December 1 Publication of *Herr Vogt*, by A. Petsch & Co., "German Bookseller," 78 Fenchurch Street, London, E.C.

December Illness; reading Darwin's *Natural Selection* (Marx to Engels. December 19: ". . . it is the book that contains the natural history basis of our philosophy").

1861

January Suffers from inflammation of the liver.

January-October 11 *New York Daily Tribune* suspends Marx as correspondent, printing none of his articles.

February 28-

March 16 Visits uncle, Lion Philips, in Zalt-Bommel, Holland.

March 17-April 12 Visit with Ferdinand Lassalle in Berlin.

April 10 Applies for restoration of Prussian citizenship.

April 12-29 Travels from Berlin to the Rhineland, visiting his mother in Trier and returning to London via Holland.

Early June Begins work on *Das Kapital*.

June Research on U.S. Civil War.

Early July Eye inflammation (Marx to Engels, July 5: "For three days now I have had a disgusting eye inflammation, which prevents all writing and reading").

Late August-Mid September Visits Engels in Manchester.

September 18 Writes *The American Question in England*, the first article of his to be published in *New York Daily Tribune* in the year 1861 (October 11). For

the rest of the year the *Tribune* publishes only seven more of his articles.

October 25 First publication (*The North American Civil War*) in *Die Presse*, a Vienna daily.

November Prussian Government denies Marx's application for restoration of citizenship.

1862

January-February Work on *Theories of Surplus Value*.

March 10 Publishes last article, *The Mexican Imbroglio*, in *New York Daily Tribune*.

March 30-
April 25 Visits Engels in Manchester.

August 28-
September 27 Visits mother in Trier and uncle Lion Philips in Zalt-Bommel, Holland, in connection with money matters.

December 5-13 Visits Engels in Manchester.

1863

February-
Late May Illness—Inflammation of eyes and liver, coughing—and inability to work.

May-August Intermittent research in British Museum.

September-
December Ill with carbuncles and furuncles; carbuncle operation in November.

December 2 Death of mother, Henriette Marx, in Trier.

December 7 Leaves London for Germany and Holland; in Trier, stays in inn, *Gasthof von Venedig*.

December 21-
February 19, 1864 Stays with Philips family in Zalt-Bommel, where he is ill.

1864

<i>February 19</i>	Returns to London.
<i>March</i>	Moves to new house: 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, N.W. The Marx family lived here until 1875.
<i>March 12</i>	Visits Engels in Manchester, to report on his trip to Germany and Holland.
<i>May 3-13</i>	In Manchester during final illness and death (May 9) of friend, Wilhelm Wolff, who left the Marx family the bulk of his estate, valued at £320.
<i>Late May</i>	Ill with carbuncles.
<i>July 1-</i> <i>August 31</i>	Ill with influenza and carbuncles.
<i>July 20-</i> <i>August 10</i>	On cure in Ramsgate, 46 Hardres Street.
<i>August 31</i>	Death of Ferdinand Lassalle.
<i>September 28</i>	Attends meeting which founds International Working Men's Association (First International), at St. Martin's Hall, London; chosen member of Provisional Committee.
<i>October 6-17</i>	Illness and inability to work.
<i>October 21-27</i>	Drafts Provisional Rules and Inaugural Address of the International, adopted by the Provisional Committee, November 1.
<i>November 3</i>	Meets Michael Bakunin for first time in sixteen years.
<i>Early November-</i> <i>Mid December</i>	Ill with carbuncles.
<i>November 29</i>	Completes <i>Address of the International Working Men's Association to Abraham Lincoln</i> , congratulating him on his reelection to Presidency.

December 21, 30 Publication of *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's Association*, in *Der Sozialdemokrat*; also published as pamphlet by Bee-Hive News-paper Office, 10 Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

1865

January 7-14 Visits Engels in Manchester.

February-Mid March Ill with carbunes.

March 19-
April 8 Visits relatives in Zalt-Bommel, Holland.

April 11 Becomes the International's corresponding secretary for Belgium (Marx held this office until January 1866).

May 2-9 Drafts International's Address to President Andrew Johnson.

Late May-June 17 Writes *Wages, Price and Profit*.

June 20 Delivers *Wages, Price and Profit* as a lecture before the General Council of the International.

May-August Ill with influenza, carbuncles, etc., but working intermittently on *Das Kapital*.

Late August Chosen for editorial board of *Workmen's Advocate*, organ of the International.

September 25-29 Attends sessions of London conference of the International.

September 29-Mid October Illness and inability to work.

October 20-
November 2 Visits Engels in Manchester.

Late December Completes first draft of *Das Kapital*.

1866

January Begins preparing manuscript of *Das Kapital* for publisher.

Mid January-Mid March Seriously ill with carbuncles and boils, interrupting work on *Das Kapital*.

March 15- April 10 On cure in Margate, 5 Lansell's Place.

Mid April-Late December Continuing illnesses—toothaches, carbuncles, rheumatism, liver inflammation, etc.; working intermittently.

September 2 Elected International's corresponding secretary for Germany.

Mid-November Sends first part of *Das Kapital* to Meissner, Hamburg publisher.

1867

Late March Completes *Das Kapital*.

April 10 Leaves for Hamburg to see Meissner, his publisher.

April 12-16 Discusses publication of *Das Kapital* with Meissner.

April 17- May 15 Visits Dr. Ludwig Kugelmann, a friend and admirer, in Hanover.

May 16-17 On way back to London, again visits Meissner in Hamburg.

May 19 Arrives in London.

May 21-June 2 Visits Engels in Manchester.

August 15-16 Finishes correcting proofs of *Das Kapital*.

<i>September 14</i>	Publication of <i>Das Kapital</i> (Vol. I).
<i>Late November</i>	New outbreak of carbuncles.
1868	
<i>January-Mid May</i>	Festerling carbuncles all over his body; taking prescribed arsenic treatment.
<i>April 2</i>	Marriage of Laura Marx to Paul Lafargue.
<i>April 22</i>	Begins intermittent work, for brief periods, on Vol. II of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>May 29-June 15</i>	Visits Engels in Manchester with daughter Eleanor.
<i>August 21-24</i>	On cure in Ramsgate.
<i>September 24</i>	Reelected International's corresponding secretary for Germany.
<i>Early October</i>	Bakunin begins translation of <i>Das Kapital</i> into Russian.
<i>Mid November</i>	Recurrence of carbuncles.
<i>November 29</i>	Engels offers Marx annuity of £350 to relieve him permanently of financial distress.
<i>December 1</i>	Appointed archivist of the International.
1869	
<i>Late January</i>	Ill with cold and fever; prepares second edition of <i>The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte</i> and sends it to Meissner in Hamburg.
<i>Mid February-Late May</i>	Liver illness and carbuncles.
<i>May 25-June 14</i>	Visits Engels in Manchester, with daughter Eleanor.
<i>July 1</i>	Engels gives up his business in Manchester (Engels to Marx, July 1: "Hurrah! Today . . . I am a free man").

<i>July 6-12</i>	Incognito visit to daughter Laura Lafargue in Paris, under pseudonym of "J. Williams."
<i>Late July</i>	Ill with carbuncles. Publication of second edition of <i>Eighteenth Brumaire</i> in Hamburg.
<i>Late August-Early September</i>	Writes <i>Report of the International to the Fourth Congress</i> in Basel.
<i>September 7-11</i>	At Basel Congress, the absent Marx is unanimously reelected member of International's General Council.
<i>September 10</i>	Leaves, with daughter Eleanor, for Germany, travelling through Belgium.
<i>September 18-</i> <i>October 7</i>	Visits Dr. Kugelmann in Hanover.
<i>October 8-9</i>	Visits publisher, Meissner, in Hamburg.
<i>October 11</i>	Returns to London.
<i>Late October</i>	Begins to study Russian.
<i>November 30</i>	Becomes member of Land and Labour League, a radical organization founded October 1869.
1870	
<i>Mid January-April</i>	Ill with liver inflammation, carbuncles and abscesses; undergoes two operations.
<i>April 29</i>	Receives Russian translation of the <i>Manifesto</i> , to be published in Geneva.
<i>May 23-June 23</i>	Visits Engels in Manchester with daughter Eleanor. Review of <i>Das Kapital</i> by Hermann Karl Friedrich Rösler, in <i>Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik</i> , which Marx considered so ridiculous that he laughed until he had tears in his eyes.
<i>July 19-23</i>	Writes <i>First Address of the International on the Franco-Prussian War</i> , published, in German and French, in an edition of 30,000 copies.

August 9-31 On cure for sciatica at Ramsgate, 36 Hardres Street.

September 6-9 Writes *Second Address of the International on the Franco-Prussian War*, protesting annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

September 16 Writes last letter to Engels in Manchester.

September 22 Engels moves to London, 122 Regents Park Road, N.W., to be near Marx.

1871

January on Continued illness—bronchitis, coughing, insomnia.

March 18 Paris Commune established.

April 18-
May 29 Writes *The Civil War in France*, a pamphlet defending the Paris Commune, published in English in London, in German in Leipzig (July), and in a later edition by Engels in 1891.

May 2-22 Inability to work, due to continued illness.

June-December Organizes financial assistance for Paris Commune refugees in London.

July 3 Gives interview to R. Landor, correspondent of *New York World* (published in the *World*, July 18, and in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, August 12).

August 16-29 On cure in Brighton, Globe Hotel, Manchester Street.

September 17-23 Participates in London conference of the International.

September 28-
October 3 On cure in Ramsgate with Mrs. Marx and Engels.

October 3 Elected International's corresponding secretary for Russia.

<i>October-Late November</i>	Inability to work, due to illness.
	1872
<i>January- Early March</i>	Prepares, with Engels, the anti-Bakunin circular, <i>Fictitious Splits in the International</i> .
<i>January 15- February 15</i>	Negotiates with Joseph Roy for the translation, and with Paris publisher Maurice Lachatre for the publication of a French edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>March 27</i>	Publication of first foreign translation—in Russian—of <i>Das Kapital</i> (translation begun by Bakunin, completed by Nicolai F. Danielson). Of an edition of 3,000 copies, 900 were sold in the first six weeks.
<i>April-May</i>	Edits French translation of <i>The Civil War in France</i> , published in June in Brussels in an edition of 2,000 copies.
<i>July 9-15</i>	On cure in Ramsgate with Engels.
<i>July</i>	Publication in Leipzig of new German edition of the <i>Manifesto</i> , with introduction by Marx and Engels.
<i>Mid July</i>	Publication of first part of second German edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>Late August</i>	Chosen delegate to Hague Congress of the International.
<i>September 1</i>	Arrives, with wife and daughter Eleanor, in The Hague.
<i>September 2-7</i>	Participates actively in the Congress and in the struggle with the Bakuninists which led to dissolution of the International.
<i>September 17</i>	Returns to London. Publication of first installments of French edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .

<i>October</i>	Marriage of Jenny Marx to French socialist Charles Longuet.
	1873
<i>January 24</i>	Writes Epilogue for second German edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>May-June</i>	Corrects and retranslates French edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>May 22-June 3</i>	Visits Dr. Eduard Gumpert (for medical consultation) and friends, including Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore, the English translator of <i>Das Kapital</i> , in Manchester.
<i>Early June</i>	Publication of second German edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>July-October</i>	Works in British Museum, despite ill health.
<i>November 24-</i> <i>December 15</i>	On cure in Harrogate with daughter Eleanor.
	1874
<i>February-</i> <i>Mid April</i>	Continued illness.
<i>Mid April-</i> <i>May 5</i>	On cure in Ramsgate, 16 Abbott's Hill.
<i>Mid July-</i> <i>Late July</i>	On cure in Ryde, Isle of Wight, 11 Nelson Street.
<i>August 1</i>	Applies for British Citizenship, to obtain passport for European travel.
<i>August 4-9</i>	In Ramsgate with sick daughter, Jenny Longuet.
<i>August 24</i>	Application for British citizenship rejected.
<i>August 19-</i> <i>September 21</i>	On cure in Karlsbad. Hotel Germania, am Schlossberg.

<i>October 3</i>	Returns to London.
<i>October 28-</i> <i>December 18</i>	First publication in Germany—in <i>Der Volksstaat</i> , a Social-Democratic journal appearing twice weekly in Leipzig—of <i>Revelations About the Cologne Communist Trial</i> ; it was published as a brochure in 1875.
	1875
<i>March</i>	Moves to 41 Maitland Park Road (or Crescent), London N.W., where he is to live until his death in 1883.
<i>May 5</i>	Sends <i>Critique of the Gotha Program</i> to Wilhelm Bracke for the Social-Democratic Congress in Gotha, Germany.
<i>August 15-</i> <i>September 11</i>	On cure in Karlsbad, Hotel Germania.
<i>September 20</i>	Returns to London after visiting several European cities.
<i>Late November</i>	Publication of French edition of <i>Das Kapital</i> (translation begun by Joseph Roy, corrected by Marx, completed by Charles Keller and others).
	1876
<i>July 1</i>	Death of Michael Bakunin.
<i>July 15</i>	The General Council of the International, which Marx had moved to America in 1872 to keep it out of the hands of the Bakuninists, dissolves itself at a conference in Philadelphia.
<i>August 16-</i> <i>September 15</i>	On cure for third time in Karlsbad, Hotel Germania, with daughter Eleanor.
	1877
<i>March 5</i>	Completes first part of Chapter 10 for Engels <i>Anti-Dühring</i> .

<i>Late March</i>	Resumes intermittent work on second volume of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>August 8</i>	Completes second part of Chapter 10 for <i>Anti-Dühring</i> .
<i>August 8-September 27</i>	On cure, with sick wife, in Bad Neuenahr, Germany, Hotel Flora.
<i>November-July 1878</i>	Works on first chapter of second volume of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
	1878
<i>September 4-14</i>	On cure, with wife and daughter Jenny Longuet, in Malvern.
	1879
<i>August 8-20</i>	On cure in St. Aubin's, Isle of Jersey; Trafalgar Hotel.
<i>August 21-September 17</i>	On cure with wife in Ramsgate, 62 Plains of Waterloo.
	1880
<i>January-December</i>	While ill, works intermittently on second and third volumes of <i>Das Kapital</i> .
<i>Early August-September 13</i>	On cure, with wife and children, in Ramsgate.
	1881
<i>Late June-July 20</i>	On cure with wife in Eastbourne, 43 Terminus Road.
<i>July 26-August 16</i>	With sick wife, visits daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil (near Paris), 11 Boulevard Thiers.
<i>October 13-Mid December</i>	Seriously ill.
<i>December 1</i>	Publication of <i>Karl Marx</i> , by Ernest Belfort Bax, in <i>Modern Thought</i> , a London monthly—the first serious pro-Marx article in the English language.

December 2 Death of wife, Jenny Marx, of cancer; Marx too ill to attend funeral.

December 29-

January 16, 1882 On cure in Ventnor, Isle of Wight, 1 St. Boniface Gardens.

1882

January 16 Returns to London from Ventnor.

January 21 Writes (with Engels) preface to Russian translation (by G. Plekhanov) of the *Manifesto*; preface published in Russian weekly, *Narodnaya Volya*, February 5.

February 9-16 Visits daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil, on way to cure for pleurisy and bronchitis in Algiers.

February 20-May 2 On cure in Algiers, Hotel Victoria.

Early May-

June 3 In Nice and Monte Carlo, Hotel de Russie.

June 3-5 In Cannes.

June 6-

August 22 Visits daughter Jenny Longuet in Argenteuil, taking sulphur baths at Enghien-les-Bains.

August 23-27 Visits Lausanne with daughter Laura Lafargue.

August 27-

September 25 Visits Vevey, Switzerland, with Laura.

October 30-

January 12, 1883 On cure in Ventnor, 1 St. Boniface Gardens.

1883

January 11 Death of Jenny Longuet, in Argenteuil, of cancer, causing Marx to return to London.

January-March 14 Seriously ill with laryngitis, bronchitis, lung tumor, etc.

<i>March 14</i>	
2:45 P.M.	Dies at home in London, sitting in easy chair.
<i>March 17</i>	Buried in Highgate Cemetery, London.
	1890
<i>November 4</i>	Death of Helen Demuth.
	1895
<i>August 5</i>	Death of Friedrich Engels.
	1898
<i>March 31</i>	Suicide of Eleanor Marx.
	1911
<i>November 26</i>	Suicide of Laura and Paul Lafargue.
	1929
<i>January 28</i>	Death of Frederick Demuth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Marx and Marism are among the most written about subjects in the past century. Thousands of works have been published about the man, his ideas and other associated topics. In 1968, during the 150th anniversary year of Marx's birth, over 450 books and articles were published in a number of languages. The cascade continues. Unfortunately, a large number of these writings are hagiographic or propaganda. The following list details the most significant works which I have consulted and which may be helpful to those who wish to obtain further information.

BIOGRAPHIES OF MARX

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Blumenberg, Werner. *Karl Marx*. (Translated by Douglas Scott). NLB. London. 1972.

Fedoseyer, P. N. and either other authors. *Karl Marx. A Biography*. (Translated by Yuri Sdobrikov). Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1973.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm. *Karl Marx. Biographical Memoirs.* Charles M. Kerr. Chicago. 1901.

McLellan, David. *Karl Marx. His Life and Thought.* Harper and Row (Colophon Books). New York. 1977.

Padover, Saul K. *Karl Marx. An Intimate Biography.* McGraw-Hill. New York. 1978.

_____, *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries.* Progress Publishers. Moscow. 1972.

Raddatz, Fritz J. *Karl Marx. A Political Biography.* Little, Brown. Boston. 1979.

WORKS AND LETTERS OF KARL MARX

Marx's writings are available in several languages, including the original German. The most comprehensive collection is *Marx-Engels Werke* in forty-one volumes, prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1956-68. An English translation of the *Werke* is currently being undertaken by Lawrence and Wishart in London and International Publishers in New York, in collaboration with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. It is expected that this effort will result in about fifty volumes and be completed in the late 1980s. Several early volumes have already been published. This will be the first comprehensive English translation of Marx's works. Several edited selections from his works are available, generally with a commentary by the editor:

Caute, D. *Essential Writings of Karl Marx.* MacMillan. New York. 1967.

McLellan, David. *Karl Marx: Early Texts.* Barnes and Noble. New York. 1971.

McLellan, David. *Marx's Grundrisse.* MacMillan. London. 1971.

Padover, Saul K. *The Karl Marx Library.* McGraw-Hill. New York. Seven volumes.

- I. *Karl Marx on Revolution.* 1971.
- II. *Karl Marx on America and the Civil War.* 1972.
- III. *Karl Marx on the First International.* 1973.

- IV. *Karl Marx on the Freedom of the Press and Censorship*. 1974.
- V. *Karl Marx on Religion*. 1974.
- VI. *Karl Marx on Education, Women and Children*. 1975.
- VII. *Karl Marx on History and People*. 1977.

Trotsky, Leon. *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*. Fawcett Publications. New York. 1963.

Tucker, Robert. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. (Second Edition). W. W. Norton. New York. 1978.

There are also several editions of individual works by Marx, including English translations of *Capital* (All three volumes) and *The Communist Manifesto*.

Marx was a prolific letter writer. A major part of his correspondence was with Engels. Between 1844 and early 1883, the two exchanged about 1600 letters. These are to be found in the *Marx-Engels Werke*, especially in Volumes XXVII to XXXV. The first single collection of the personal letters of Marx was edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, *The Letters of Karl Marx*. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1979. This selection includes letters to Engels and several others.

OTHER WORKS

Among a large number of works which I have consulted two are particularly important. They are concerned with the lives of other members of the Marx family. Yvonne Kapp's book, in particular, includes important information about Freddy Demuth and his circumstances.

Dornemann, Luise. *Jenny Marx*. Dietz Verlag. East Berlin. 1968.

Kapp, Yvonne. *Eleanor Marx*. (Two Volumes). Pantheon Books, New York. 1972. (Vol. I.) 1976 (Vol. II).

The Daughters of Karl Marx. Family Correspondence 1866-1898. Hartcourt Brace Jovanovich. New York. 1982. (With commentary and notes by Olga Meier) is also a useful source of information on Jenny, Laura and Eleanor Marx.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many colleagues and friends have informed my perspectives over years of professional and personal association. Some have been especially helpful and inspiring. The late Saul Padover, pre-eminent among scholars, was a kindly guide. His unselfish approach to sharing research and ideas was a rare tribute. His interest and contribution to my professional development creates a debt beyond repayment.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been a source of personal inspiration over many years. In the midst of the unrelenting demands of public life, she always found time for moments of discussion and words of encouragement. Through her life and work, Mrs. Gandhi demonstrated that statesmanship can be human and generous. From her I have learned much and to her I owe much. The world is diminished by her tragic death.

Professor Wassily Leontief, one of the seminal thinkers of our time, has also been an unusually helpful friend. My debt to him goes much beyond the thoughtful introduction which he has contributed to this book.

Others have helped in the specific task of producing this book. Special thanks to Barbara Aronson for reproducing this manuscript for publication. Her patience in deciphering my handwritten text has been exceptional. Finally, Carmela Haché enthusiastically helped to make my copy readable.

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RALPH BUULTJENS, a distinguished political scientist and leading author of Asian philosophy, was born in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and now lives in the United States. He has affiliations with several research and educational institutions around the world and his writings and media work have received wide recognition. Professor Buultjens teaches international politics and philosophy at the New School for Social Research and New York University. He is Professor of Comparative Religion at Maryknoll Graduate School of Theology, and is visiting professor at Pace University (Graduate School). He is also Chairman of the International Development Forum, a worldwide group of eminent social scientists and scholars, and was formerly president of the Society for International Development (New York). Chairman of both the New York Buddhist Council and the Council of Asian Affairs, Dr. Buultjens is Honorary Minister of the New York Buddhist Church and is a special advisor and consultant to several international organizations. Professor Buultjens is Chairman of the U Thant International Awards Committee and was awarded the Toynbee Prize for the Social Sciences in 1984.

His publications include the prize-winning book *Rebuilding The Temple: Tradition and Change in Modern Asia*; *The Decline of Democracy; China After Mao—Death of a Revolution?* and *The World of Henry Kissinger—Philosophy and Reality in “Years of Upheaval.”* Dr. Buultjens is also the author of other works on Buddhism and Asian development, and has written the text for several photobooks on Asia.

The Secret of Karl Marx

Ralph Buultjens examines the relationship between Marx's personality, experiences and ideas with his usual diligent research. He presents an innovative interpretation that will provoke much discussion . . . combining scholarship with new approaches to historical investigation.

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